THE

COURSE OF HANNIBAL

OVER

THE ALPS

ASCERTAINED.

BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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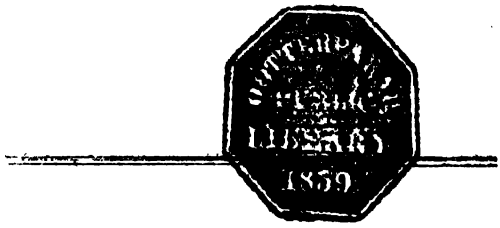

THE

COURSE OF HANNIBAL.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

IN ſurveying the wonderful activities of man upon this globe of earth, we feel the neceſſity of obtaining local knowledge to acquire hiſtorical information. Without a continual reference to the preſent ſcene of buſineſs, we are ſoon loſt in the various movements of it. The narration may be amuſing to our fancies, but will be perplexing to our underſtandings. Nor is that vaſt maſs of facts, which Hiſtory accumulates before us, any thing more than a mere chaos of tranſactions; before Geography ſpeaks the word, calls the ſeveral elements to their ſeveral places, and ranges the whole in its natural order.

This is equally the caſe in ancient and in modern ſtory. But the knowledge of geography is neceſſarily much more defective concerning ancient tranſactions, than it is concerning modern. There, names of towns, of rivers, and even of nations, are continually occurring; which learning itſelf finds it not eaſy to appropriate, and illiterateneſs muſt be content to leave for ever in uncertainty. On this account, ancient hiſtory is to the main body of mankind, "Monſtrum informe, "ingens, cui lumen ademptum." Nor can even ſcholars very frequently catch more, than a glimmering ray of light; from the colliſion which they make, between various paſſages in ancient authors. Thus are they themſelves like men, digging in the depth of a mine, and ſupplying the want of the ſun by a wheel of ſteel, that ſtrikes continually upon flints, and draws out a circle of ſparks to enlighten them.

But this has been peculiarly their fate, perhaps, in that moſt diſtinguiſhed period of the ancient hiſtory of man, which occurs within theſe weſtern parts of the European continent; the grand march of Hannibal through France to the Alps, and over the Alps into Italy. Here the wheel of light, which learning has been turning for its own illumination, is particularly faint. The courſe of this celebrated General has been drawn, in a variety of routes; no leſs than FOUR different

points of the Alps, being marked by the finger of modern criticiſm, as the very line and track of his progreſs.

Nor has this uncertainty been confined to the moderns. It extended to the ancients, and mounted up to the very Romans themſelves. So early even as the days of Auguſtus, the route of their grand enemy over thoſe natural barriers of their country, was the ſubject of a controverſy at Rome. Nor was this merely among the groſs body of the people, who are neceſſarily illiterate, and muſt therefore remain ignorant. It was carried on among the learned, and the hiſtorically learned too. A profeſſed writer of the Roman hiſtory, a writer of the moſt ancient periods of it, even LIVY himſelf, engaged in the diſpute, and digreſſed from his narration in order to enter into it.

In this uncertainty concerning the point, when thoſe to whom the hiſtory of Hannibal was actually modern; and who, in compariſon with us, were nearly cotemporaries with Hannibal himſelf; could not aſcertain his courſe over the Alps decifively: what hope can there be, of aſcertaining it at preſent? Yet ſome there is. Hope in general is that vital ſpark of literary, as well as natural, life; which is not ſo eaſily extinguiſhed, as to a ſuperficial obſerver it may ſeem to be. It

has therefore been continually impelling the moderns to determine, what the ancients themſelves diſputed. Even a grand attempt has been recently made to determine it. An officer of our own army, who is at once an antiquary, a ſoldier, and a critic, the celebrated General ROBERT MELVILL, in 1775 took pains to trace the route of the Carthaginians, one General inveſtigating the courſe of another, by an actual ſurvey of the ground, through the vallies and over the creſts of the Alps. I am ambitious, therefore, of following the example of this amiable and friendly officer, who has moſt obligingly imparted the ſubſtance of all his notices to me; but of following it in a different manner. I wiſh not to ſtruggle in reality through the rugged gullies, and to ſtrain in reality up the ſteep aſcents, with him. I mean to act on an eaſier, and (I think) a more effectual, plan: taking the hiſtories of Hannibal into my hands; comparing them with the accounts, of the Roman geographers and modern travellers; collating all again with incidental notices, in other hiſtorians among the ancients or among the moderns; and then delineating the courſe of the Carthaginians, from the whole.

Nor will there be found, I truſt, ſuch a real uncertainty in their courſe, as the diſputes of the moderns and of the ancients ſeem to announce. The generality of mankind *think* little, upon any ſubject.

ſubject. Even ſcholars are more apt to draw out their ſtores of learning, than to exert their powers of intellect. They frequently *think* as little, as the mereſt of the mob. And my reader, who expects to walk only in the ſhades of twilight, or under the glimmer of a few ſtars, will be agreeably ſurpriſed, I truſt, to find the clear light breaking in upon him, growing ſtronger and ſtronger as he advances, and at laſt forming a full blaze of brightneſs.

— I. —

I FIRST preſent myſelf as a guide to the Carthaginians, on the banks of the Rhone in Languedoc. Here Hannibal paſſed this rapid river. But at what particular point did he paſs it? He had marched from the Pyrenees; not along the grand road, which we ſee the Romans afterwards uſing acroſs the ſouth of France; but along another, that was higher up in the country, and came to the Rhone at a greater diſtance from the ſea. Almoſt all our knowledge of weſtern Europe, is derived from the monuments of the Romans; and the roads of the Romans eſpecially, are our principal directors to the roads of the natives before them. That of the Romans led from the Pyrenees, to Narbonne, to Niſmes, and to Arles[a]. This laſt

[a] "Antonini Itinerarium" in "Theatrum Geographiæ "veteris, duobus tomis diſtinctum, edente Petro Bertio Be-"vero,

laſt town was at the *mouth* of the Rhone, while Hannibal croſſed the river almoſt *four days march above* [b]. Hannibal, therefore, took a road to the *north* of this. One accordingly occurs among the Romans, that went over the Rhone at Vienne by a bridge, of which ſome appearances remain to *this* day [c]. Yet this was too far to the north. Hannibal was only four days march from Arles in the ſouth, as I have already noticed; but he was alſo *four days march* from Lyons in the north, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [d]. He was, conſequently, about the middle point of the Rhone betwixt both. Now we have one *Iter* of the Romans, which gives us the diſtance on the road between Arles and Valence; and another which meaſures equally

" vero, Chriſtianiſſimi Galliarum Regis Ludovici XIII. Coſ-" mographo," ii. 25.

[b] Polybius, i. 271. cap. iii. ſect. 42. Caſaubon. Σχεδον ημερων τεσσαρων οδον απεχων στρατοπεδου της Σαλατης. Mr. Hampton's tranſlation of Polybius having a celebrity, that from a ſingle inſtance I ſuſpect to be more the reſult of fancy than of truth, of report than of reality; I ſhall examine the verſion of almoſt every extract that I produce from the Greek, in order to mark the deviations that I expect to find. " Annibal," ſays Mr. Hampton, i. 340. edit. 3. 1772, " having now fixed his camp " upon the Rhone, at the diſtance of *about*," almoſt, Σχ δον, " four days *journey*," march, " from the *ſea*," from the camp of Scipio on the ſea, στρατοπεδου της Σαλατης, " reſolved," &c.

[c] Peutinger's Tables, 1ſt ſegment, in Bertius's Theatrum, after Antonini Itinerarium, " Vigenna xvi;" and Breval's Second Travels, ii. 132, publiſhed 1738.

[d] Sequel ii. 1, of this chapter.

the

the road from Valence to Lyons. The former carries us from Arles to Avignon, by two intermediate ſtages, twenty-three miles; to Orange, by one ſtage, twenty; and to Valence, by five, ſeventy-one; in all, one hundred and fourteen [e]. The

[e] Bertius ii. 39. "Itinerarium a Burdigalâ," &c.: a later Itinerary than Antonine's, "Arellate ----------, "Mutatio *Arnagine*, m. viii;" a place mentioned additionally in Antonine's Itinerary (Bertius ii. 22), and in Peutinger's Tables (ſegment the 1ſt), and again noticed by Ptolemy as "the town Ernaginum" (ii. 10, p. 55), left unſettled by D'Anville, 291, 292 (Notice à l'ancien Gaule, tirée des Monumens Romains, quarto, a Paris, 1760), but plainly Orgon upon the Durance, a town of antiquity (Thickneſſe's Travels, ii. 55); "Mutatio Bellinto, m. x," Barbentane in D'Anville, 48, but Andiol, I believe, five leagues from Orgon, and where a ferry-boat now croſſes the Durance on the road to the next ſtage (Thickneſſe ii. 55); "Civitas "Avenione, m. v," Avignon, about five miles from the paſſage (Thickneſſe ii. 55); "Mutatio Cypreſſeta, m. v," Pont de Sorgue in D'Anville, 260, 261, Caderouſe perhaps in Breval's Second Travels, ii. 141; "Civitas Arauſione, m. xv," Orange; "Mutatio ad Lectoce, m. xiii," on the petty river Lez, ſays D'Anville 40, 41, probably Pier Late on the road to Valence (Thickneſſe ii. 64); "Mutatio Novem-Craris m. x," on the little river Berre (D'Anville 488), probably Montelimar; "Manſio Acuno, m. xv;" Ancone, (D'Anville 31, 32, and 488); "Mutatio Vancianis, m. xii," conſidered as the ſame with Vatiana in Ravennas and Batiana in Peutinger's Tables by D'Anville, and ſuppoſed very wildly by him in 143, 144, to be Baix *on the left or weſtern ſide of the Rhone*, this geographer profeſſedly croſſing over it at Ancone, *in order* to recroſs it again at Valence, but probably a place that I ſhall ſoon mention

The latter conducts us from Valence, through ſeventy-one miles, to Lyons [f]. But theſe *Iters* obviouſly carry us off from the courſe of the Rhone, and lengthen the road greatly by diverting wide to the right. The real diſtance from Lyons to Arles, is about one hundred and ſixty miles [g]; and the middle point betwixt them, will fix us about *eighty* from each. This reaſoning is deciſively confirmed by Polybius, who ſtates the place of Hannibal's paſſage over the Rhone, to be *ſeventy-five* below Lyons [h]. We muſt, therefore, take our ſtation many miles to the ſouth of Valence; which in one of thoſe winding *Iters* is ſeventy-one below Lyons, but in reality is about fifty-four

mention on the river Drome, and certainly ſome place on the right or eaſtern bank of the Rhone; "Mutatio Umbenno, m. "xii," Paillaiſſe; "Civitas Valentia, m. ix," Valence.

[f] Antonine's Itinerary 22, "Valentiam .....; Urſolim, m. p. xxii," St. Vallier (D'Anville 724), probably Romans; "Viennam, m. p. xxvi; Lugdunum, m. p. xxiii."

[g] The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through France, 9th edition, 1787, ſtates the diſtances thus: from Paris to Lyons 100 leagues, to Vienne 104, to Valence 118, to Montelimar 131, to Orange 142, to Avignon 147½, and to Arles 153¼, or from Lyons to Arles 53¼ leagues, 159½ miles.

[h] Polybius, iii. 39, tells us, that Hannibal's march, from his croſſing the Rhone to his mounting the Alps, meaſured 1400 ſtadia, or (at eight ſtadia to a mile, Polybius's own admeaſurement) 175 miles; and in iii. 50 tells us additionally, that, of this diſtance, 800 ſtadia or 100 miles were the length from Lyons to the Alps.

only;

only; and at LAURIOL, near twenty miles to the ſouth of Valence[i].

But let us attend to another circumſtance. At this point of the Rhone, notes Polybius, the river was confined within "a ſingle channel[k]." Yet near *five and twenty* miles higher up, note both Polybius and Livy, the river was *divided in two by an iſland*, ſo became broader and ſhallower in its current[l]. This will be a permanent mark for us, if

i Gentleman's Guide in map, as meaſured by the ſcale. Pallaiſſe is then about 13 miles, and *L'Orial* (as there called) about 6½.

The Roman road from the Pyrenees, acroſs the ſouth of France, to the Alps, was firſt formed about twenty-eight years after Hannibal took this march; and is therefore deſcribed by Polybius, as all carefully meaſured into miles, and divided by ſtones, *in his time:* Ταυτα γαρ ΝΥΝ Βεβηματισται και σεσημειωται κατα σταδιους οκτω δια Ρωμαιων επιμελως (iii. 139). "For the "whole of this route has [*now*] been accurately meaſured by "the Romans; and diſtinguiſhed by diſtances, each of eight "ſtadia" (i. 335); where the great note of time is moſt careleſsly omitted, and the accuracy, that refers to the diſtinguiſhing as well as the meaſuring, is given to the meaſuring only.

k Polybius, iii. 42. Ευθεως ενεχειρει ποιεισθαι την διαβασιν κατα την απλην ρυσιν. "He reſolved to make his paſſage in that place, "becauſe" the current was not divided in two, or, in Mr. Hampton's diffuſive and erroneous language, becauſe "the "ſtream was narrow there, and confined within the proper "channel of the river" (i. 340).

l Polybius, iii. 42. Επι διακοσια σταδια, and περι τι χωριον νησιζον περισχιζεσθαι τον ποταμον. Livy, xxi. 27. Ruddiman, Edin-

if we can lay our finger upon it. About ſix miles to the north of Valence, and about three above the fall of the Iſere into the Rhone, is actually an iſland at preſent. There are indeed two iſlands more, at different diſtances below; yet the ſmallneſs of the ſize attributed expreſsly by Livy to his iſle, appropriates *this* for the iſland of Hannibal in the hiſtory [m]. Five and twenty miles from it down the river, anſwering to the ſix above Valence, and the twenty below it, come as nearly to our number as we can either expect or wiſh to come, and leave us at our point of LAURIOL again [n].

All

Edinburgh, 1772. "Inde millia quinque et viginti fermé "ſuprà, parvæ inſulæcircumfuſum amnem, latiorem ubi divi- "debatur, eoque minùs alto alveo."

m See a large French map of the country, in forty ſheets, and entitled "Les etats de Savoye et de Piemont, le Dauphine, "la Breſſe, partie du Lionnois et de la Provence, &c. par M. "Hubert Jaillot, 1706, à Paris." Livy's words are xxi. 27, "*Parvæ* inſulæ circumfuſum amnem;" and ſo Jaillot repreſents it. Polybius's deſcription of the iſland is merely this Τὸ χωρίον νησίζον (iii. 42), literally, *a certain inſular piece of ground*; but which Caſaubon tranſlates, "parvam inſulam," and Mr. Hampton from him, "a ſmall iſland" (i. 341). So much influence had Livy in directing the pen of Caſaubon, and ſo much virtue had Caſaubon in faſcinating the eye of Mr. Hampton!

n See Jaillot's map for one of theſe other iſlands, *below* Valence, and nearly oppoſite to La Vaulte, or (as called in the map of France, among the maps made for the Modern Univ. Hiſt.)

All unite, upon that only ſtandard of diſtances which is requiſite to our preſent purpoſe, a general one; to bring Hannibal over the Rhone, about midway between Valence and Montelimar, at a ſtage the middle of theſe five in the Itinerary, "Mutatio Novem-craris" . . ., Montelimar probably, "Manſio Acuno, m. xv," "MUTATIO "VANCIANIS, m. xii," probably LAURIOL, again "Mutatio Umbenno, m. xii, Civitas Valentia, "m. ix," certainly Valence[o]. We thus fix his paſſage, about *fifty* miles to the *north* of Orange[p]; though it has been generally fixed hitherto to the *ſouth* of this town, between it and Avignon[q]. The poſition of the iſland coinciding ſo fairly with the diſtance from Lyons upon one ſide, and

Hiſt.) La Voute. This is much larger in Jaillot's map, than the iſle *above* Valence. As for the third iſle, which is lower ſtill in the Rhone, and very large; ſee a note immediately hereafter. Both theſe lower iſles muſt have been made by the Rhone, ſince the days of Hannibal; as it is apparent from the hiſtory, that there was only one then, and this a ſmall iſle, within five and twenty miles from the paſſage.

o Itinerarium a Burdigalâ, &c. p Ibid.

q "Il me paroit vrai ſemblable", ſays Hiſtoire Literaire de la Ville de Lyon, par le P. de Colonia, 1728, a work abridged by the author himſelf in Ant. de Ville de Lyon, 1733; "qu'il "traverſa le Rhone vers *Roquemaure* entre *Orange* & *Avignon*" (Parte premiere, p. 26). Others have thought the ſame; particularly the worthy General above, and Mr. Pownall in his recent work upon the Roman Antiquities of Provence, &c. 1788, p. 43. They have all followed the track, which Folard had formed in his Diſſertations upon Polybius.

from

from Arles on the other, and the ſize of it according ſo exactly with Livy's account of this iſle, proves that opinion to be deciſively wrong, and this to be demonſtratively right [r].

At

[r] Another French author, M. de St. Simon, now or lately Marquis (if not Duc) de St. Simon, who appears to have been at once a writer and a warrior, who ſerved as an Aid-du-Camp to the Prince of Conti in the war of 1734, who compoſed a hiſtory of that war of the Alps, compoſed another of the town of Conti, and publiſhed his Preface to the former after the year 1768; in oppoſition to Folard, has in this Preface brought Hannibal over the Rhone eighteen or twenty miles higher up (ſee his Preface, p. viii. for Hannibal, and p. xx, xxii, xxiii, xxix, and xxviii. for himſelf). He is ſo much nearer the truth than Folard, but ſtopped too ſoon in his courſe up the Rhone after it. He has wiſely taken the diſtance of four days from the camp in the ſea, and brought in the iſland, twenty-five miles off, to aſſiſt him: but he has made very little uſe of them, when he had got them. He has erred about the iſland, and trifled with the diſtances. His iſle is much below Valence. He ſpeaks of it as "entre *Baix* ſur la droite & Mirmande ſur la "gauche du Rhone." *Baix* is put by D'Anville, 143, 144, to anſwer "Mutatio Vancianis" in the Itinerary; and muſt therefore have "Mutatio Umbenno, m. xii," and "Civitas Va-"lentia, m. ix," to the north of it. M. de St. Simon's iſland is conſequently in a wrong place for the hiſtory, being at our very point of paſſage, where ſhould be certainly no iſland; and throwing the paſſage itſelf about five and twenty miles lower, near fifty to the ſouth of Valence, and about a hundred, inſtead of ſeventy-five, to the ſouth of Lyons. Nor are the diſtances in M. de St. Simon, ſuch as they ought to be; he miſtaking the courſe of the hiſtory, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter; therefore ſetting off his meaſurements from a wrong point;

At Lauriol in Dauphiny then, did Hannibal *croſs the Rhone. To this point he marched, not becauſe*

even when he does not do this, giving falſe meaſures; and afterwards not ſpecifying locally and nominally his very point of paſſage itſelf, only placing it in *the country of the Tricaſtini*, and about 21 *leagues from the ſea*, two marks peculiarly indefinite! "Je place le paſſage du Rhone ſix ou ſept lieues plus haut, que "le Chevalier Folard ne le met d'apres les memoires de Man- "dajors, parce que Polybe dit qu'Annibal paſſa ce fleuve à qua- "tre journées de ſon embouchure dans la mer," M. de St. Simon never thinking of Polybius's 75 miles, a much ſurer mark; "et que Tite Live dit, qu'Annibal envoya Hannon fils de Bomil- "car avec une gros detachement, paſſer ce fleuve vingt-cinque "milles au-deſſus de la place ou il s'etoit arreté, à cauſe qu'une "*grande* iſle," of which the *greatneſs* is all given by M. de St. Simon himſelf, and is expreſsly contradicted by Livy, he calling it a *ſmall* one: "qui s'y trouvoit, donnoit," &c. "Du "point ou je fais paſſer le Rhone, au pays des Tricaſtins,— "juſqu' à la mer on compte environ vingt et une lieues," only ſixteen leagues and a half, "qui peuvent repondre à la "diſtance qu'on ſuppoſe pour quatre journées de marche, et "de ce même point on trouve en remontant le fleuve vingt- "cinque milles, c'eſt-à-dire, huit lieues et un tiers, une *grande* "iſle qui ſubſiſte de tems immémorial, entre Baix ſur la droite, "et Mirmande ſur la gauche, du Rhone." M. de St. Simon annihilates his own argument, by negligently falſifying the account in Livy, making that a great iſle which Livy calls a ſmall one, and actually producing a great iſle to anſwer Livy's ſmall one. Such an inſtance of ſelf-confuted reaſoning, is too groſs to occur often in the literary world. In his map, at the end of his Preface, he does what he does not in the Preface itſelf, fixes neceſſarily the paſſage, and fixes it between Viviers and Pont St. Eſprit; thus throwing the *middle* point towards *one end*, reducing

becauſe he thought it more commodious for his paſſage over the river, having a lower bank and an eaſier aſcent up it; but for a reaſon more hiſtorical and ſubſtantial, becauſe the road which he had taken led him to it. The road from Narbonne to Niſmes and to Arles, as we have already ſeen, he left to the ſouth of his line of movements. "This road," ſays Strabo, who wrote not (as is generally ſaid) in the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, but in the reign of Tiberius only, as he appears actually writing the *fourth* book of his Geography in the very fifth year of his reign, "is good in ſummer, but in winter "and in ſpring deep with dirt, and obſtructed "by rivers: ſome indeed of theſe currents are "paſſed by ferries, and ſome by bridges built of "timber or ſtone," the latter aſſuredly introduced by the Romans on their conqueſt of the country, the former uſed by the natives before; "and the torrents render the road difficult "to be paſſed, even up into the ſummer[s]." But another

ducing his four days march from the ſea into 48 miles and a half, and enlarging the four days march to Lyons into a hundred and eight inſtead of ſeventy-five.

s Strabo, iv. 285. Amſtel. 1707. Θερους μεν ευϐατον ουσαν, χειμωνος δε και εαρος πηλωδη και ποταμοκλυστον. Τινα μεν ουν των ρευματων, πορθμειοις περαται· τινα δε γεφυραις, ταις μεν ζυλων πεποιημεναις, ταις δε λιθων· ποιουσι δε τας εκ των υδατων δυσκολιας οι χειμαρροι, και μεχρι του θερους. Strabo mentions expreſsly in his fourth book, that it "was now three and thirty years" ſince Druſus and Tiberius

another road branched out of this, and ran parallel with it to the Alps. "Of the road which "I have mentioned," adds Strabo, "that which "goes *direct* to the Alps is (as we have ſaid) the "*ſhort* one through the Vocontii; but that "through the ſea coaſt of Marſeilles and Liguria, "is longer[t]". Yet even this would not accommodate itſelf to the deſigns of Hannibal. Theſe two roads went in *one common ſtem* to the *Rhone*; the great road paſſing "from Niſmes through "Ugernum [now Beaucaire] and Taraſcon, to "the warm waters which are called Sextiæ, "and are near Marſeilles," the preſent Aix, "to "Antibes and the river Var;" and the branch from it having, "as far as Beaucaire and Ta-"raſcon, the road from Niſmes common to it "and the other[u]." Hannibal therefore took another track, moved parallel with this road, but kept at ſome diſtance from it. He wiſhed aſſuredly to avoid Arles and Marſeilles; becauſe he

Tiberius reduced the Vindelici and Rhæti, who were reduced in the conſulates of Druſus Libo and Calpurnius Piſo, or the year 15 before Chriſt. Ηδη τριτον και τριακοστον ετος εστι, εξ ου, κ. τ. λ. p. 316.

[t] Ibid. ibid. Της δ' οδου της λεχθειστης, η μεν ευθυς επι τας Αλπεις εστι, καθαπερ ειπομεν, η συντομος δια ουοκοντιων· η δε δια της παραλιας της Μασσαλιωτικης και της λιγυστικης, μακροτερα.

[u] Ibid. 270. Εκ Νεμαυσου δε δια Ουργενου [Ουγερνου] και Ταρασκωνος εις τα θερμα υδατα τα Σεκτια καλουμενα, απερ πλησιον Μασσαλιας εστι,—εις Αντιπολιου και τον Ουαρον ποταμον·—Κατα δε την ετεραν οδον—μεχρι Γερνου [Ουγρερνου] και Ταρασκωνος κοινη οδος η απο Νεμαυσου. See D'Anville, p. 696—698.

knew

knew *this* to be hoſtile to him, and he apprehended the Romans would land at *that*. He took a higher road, of which we have no account from the Romans; but which appears to have been then the known and regular road from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, as ſome embaſſadours who came (as we ſhall ſoon find) out of Italy to meet him, knew it ſo well, that they actually met him at the very paſſage over the river; by which he ranged, perhaps, through Carcaſſone, Lodeve, Le Vigan, and Anduſe[v]; and, at the end of which, he reached the Rhone oppoſite to Lauriol[w].

— II. —

From this point, we muſt now attend his army to the Alps. But what line of march does he take from it? He has the Alps all running abreaſt of the courſe, which he has hitherto purſued, at

[v] See D'Anville's map of Gallia Antiqua, in his Complete Body of Ancient Geography, London, 1775.

[w] When Polybius, in iii. 39, gives us the general meaſure of Hannibal's march from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, he does it only from the meaſures of the other and parallel road, the only road that the Romans then had in this direction. In Peutinger's Tables (ſegment 1ſt), we have a delineation of this, and a grand parallel road; but the latter beginning at *Bourdeaux* and ending at *Vienne*, the former alone coming from the *Pyrenees*, and then croſſing the Rhone at *Arles*, Hannibal's middle road, therefore, was never a Roman one.

ſuch

ſuch a diſtance only, as ſtill leaves them very viſible to the eye. There are alſo THREE grand paſſes through them, which have been all aſſigned to him. One of them, MOUNT GENE'VRE near Briancon, lies almoſt oppoſite to him. "This," ſays Paul Jovius two centuries and a half ago, "is the general way for thoſe who travel out of "France into Italy[x]." "This," adds Alciatus about the ſame period, "is in our time a fre-"quented road[y]." Even "all the carriages "which go into Italy," ſubjoins the very modern M. de St. Simon concerning France, "paſs by "*Mount Genévre*; which is *almoſt the only mountain* "*of all the Alps*, where *the carriages are not diſ-*"*mounted*, in order *to be tranſported over the hill on*

[x] Pauli Jovii Novocomenſis, Epiſcopi Nucerini, Hiſtoriarum ſui temporis, tom. i. p. 300. "Ab Suſâ—iter—patet, quod "ad Coctias Alpes pertinet, quibus mons Genebra—hodie "nomen præbet.—His maximè qui è Galliâ in Italiam tranſ-"cendunt." Argentorati, 1556.

[y] "Alpes Poenas, inquit, eas eſſe opinor," under a groſs miſtake as to the name, "per quas ex Druentiâ flumine rectâ "in Italiam tenditur, Brigentionem verſus et Fereitam," the capital of Montferrat, Caſal; "quæ via noſtro quoque tem-"pore eſt frequens" (Simleri Valleſiæ et Alpium Deſcriptio, Elzevir, 1633, p. 248). Simler's work was written long before it was printed by Elzevir. It is dedicated by the author to Hildebrand a Reidmatten, Biſhop of Sion, who became biſhop in 1564 (p. 169, miſ-printed 189). In p. 24, too, he fixes an event *ninety-two* years before he wrote, which actually happened in 1475 (Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, i. 382). Simler therefore wrote in 1567.

" *the back of mules*[a]." It thus excels Mount Cenis itſelf, in eaſineſs of aſcent and in conveniency of paſſage. But over this, in the reign of our Queen Anne and in the year 1709, General Rebender, commandant of the Germans under the Duke of Savoy, actually marched with his forces. The ſame officer, in 1710, again advanced to the top of it. In 1711 the Duke of Berwick croſſed and re-croſſed it, with a part of the French army under him; and went over it again in 1712[a]. More than two centuries before, did Charles the VIIIth of France, *the firſt who ever croſſed the Alps with artillery*, carry his army and his artillery by Mount *Genévre*[b]. It was over this mountain too, ſays M. de St. Simon, that " all " the cannons and equipages of the French artil- " lery paſſed, in the war of 1734[c]." And over

[a] " On fait paſſer toutes celles [voitures] qui vont en Italie, " par le Mont Genévre, et—c'eſt preſque ſeule montagne de " toutes les Alpes, où l'on de ne demonte point les voitures, " pour les tranſporter à dos de mulet" (Preface xxiv. xxv).

[a] Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, written by himſelf, publiſhed in French, and tranſlated in 1779, ii. 80, 92, 129, and 136.

[b] Pauli Jovii, i. 300. " Via militaris et convehendis tor- " mentorum curribus uſitata, Brigantium rectâ Eburodunum- " que perducit, quâ Carolum Octavum, qui primus in Italiam " currulia tormenta tranſvexit, profectum memoravimus."

[c] " C'eſt ſur cette montagne, que dans la guerre de mille " ſept-cens trent-quatre paſſerent tous les canons, et les equi- " pages, de l'artillerie Françoiſe." Preface, xxv.

this mountain is the natural line of Hannibal's march, at preſent; TURIN being his grand object, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and the road over Mount *Genèvre* carrying him the ſhorteſt way, down the Doria of Suſa, directly to it [d].

But a little to the north of this, is the celebrated paſs over Mount CENIS. Shall we then conduct the army of the Carthaginians, over that mountain? The right reverend the EARL of BRISTOL, who has honoured me with ſome letters upon the ſubject, and whoſe mind was long balancing between the different mountains, finally thought they went over Mount *Cenis*. It lies almoſt equally before them, inviting their march acroſs it; and ſmall diſtances are as nothing, upon a great ſcale of movements. In the war of Queen Anne, too, the main army of Savoy and Germany aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Suſa, ſet to work in putting the roads of Mount

[d] Map prefixed to Berwick's Memoirs, and Map of Savoy, Piedmont, and Montferrat, in maps for Modern Univ. Hiſt.; in the latter of which the road is traced from Sezane, by Oulx, Exiles, and Suſa, to Turin; though the river is falſely called the *Stura*, which is the name of the rivulet immediately to the eaſt of it and of Turin. See a Chorographical Map of the King of Sardinia's dominions, in twelve ſheets, taken from the famous map of Borgoni, with many additions and improvements, by A. Dury, 1765, and kindly tranſmitted to me for my inſpection in Cornwall, by General Melvill.

Cenis in order, paſſed over it, and encamped betwixt Lannebourg and Termignon, on the French ſide of it. This army alſo, on its retreat afterwards, paſſed in part over Mount *Cenis* again. In 1711 the Duke of Savoy himſelf, advancing from Suſa, croſſed Mount *Cenis* with a part of his army, encamped at Lannebourg at the weſtern foot of it, and puſhed up to Termignon[e]. The preſent celebrity of the paſſage indeed, which has gained it the pre-eminent appellation of *the way to Rome*, among the Italians and their neighbours[f]; ſeems to point out this as the actual road of Hannibal, by Novaleſa and Suſa to Turin. Nor is this a road merely of preſent celebrity. It was equally one, more than two centuries and a half ago. "The Alps," ſays Paulus Jovius, "moſt celebrated and moſt frequented for the "greater eaſe in travelling, and for the more "numerous houſes of inhabitants, are thoſe of "which we now call the higheſt ſummit Mount "*Cenis*[g]." Even by this road, more than a thou-

[e] Berwick's Memoirs, ii. 72, and 118.

[f] Simler, 244, 245, "Qui Italicè Strâta Romana dicitur." M. Sauſſure in his Voyages dans les Alpes, à Geneve, 1787, ii. 41, "le paſſage du Mont Cenis, le chemin qui conduit à "Rome."

[g] P. Jovii, i. 300. "Alpes,—propter lenitatem mitioris "itineris, crebraque incolarum ædificia, maximè celebres et "frequentes, quarum altiſſimum cacumen hodie *monte in* "[montem] Ceniſium nuncupamus."

Thus

ſand years ago, did Charlemagne actually carry his army, to reduce the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy[h].

Both theſe roads terminate in that paſs of Suſa, which is a way cut through a mountain, and ſo narrow in itſelf, that three men can hardly march abreaſt in it[i]. The moſt numerous army therefore, as ſpeculation immediately aſſures us, may eaſily be ſtopped at it by a ſmall party of men; and ſo both be rendered totally uſeleſs, to an invading army. But there are incidents in war, which ſpeculation never takes into its account, and which, therefore, ſhow the vanity of ſuch ſpeculations in a work of ſuch uncertainty. Theſe ſuppoſe a common degree of courage, ever operating in the hearts of a ſoldiery defending a paſs; when a panic often interpoſes, ſinks the human ſpirit, even in the brave, much below the ordinary level for a moment, and gives a victory to the aſſailants with every probability againſt it. Accordingly the fact is, that the paſs has been repeatedly forced. Thus, when Charlemagne had croſſed Mount *Cenis*, he puſhed through the defile

[h] P. Jovii, i. 300. "Quo itinere, ad delendum Longobardo-
" rum imperium, in Italiam irrupit Carolus Gallorum Rex, qui
" poſtea ab amplitudine rerum geſtarum Magni cognomen
" adeptus eſt."

[i] Breval's Second Travels, i. 290.

of Suſa in ſpite of all oppoſition[k]. The conſtruction indeed, firſt of the ſtrong works around Suſa, then of the caſtle of Suſa, and ſince of the fortreſs of Brunette, ſhews this paſs experimentally to want many artificial obſtructions.

Nor are the Romans themſelves, without a regular road over this portion of the Alps. They had even three roads, running parallel with each other, then converging into one common road, and ſo paſſing over the mountains together. They had one alſo, that ran betwixt two of the roads in their tendency to the point of concurrence, and by anticipation united them together for a moment. The moſt ſoutherly of theſe goes from Milan to Arles, acroſs the hills. But I ſhall give only ſuch a part of it, as comes near to the Alps; and ſhall invert the order of it, to make it correſpond with the projected line of Hannibal's motions; here and hereafter marking with Italics ſuch names, as appear certainly correſpondent. Then it exhibits "*Seguſteronem*, m. p. ....," *Siſteron* on the Durance in Dauphiny, and on the *left* of it; "Alabontem, m. p. xvi." [Peutinger's Tables, "Alarante, xvi."]," Moneſtier d'Alamont in D'Anville's opinion, but Ventavon in mine, equally on the Durance and on the *left*; "*Vapincum*, m. p. xviii. [Vapincum, ...]." *Gap*,

[k] Modern Univ. Hiſt. xxiii. 129, octavo, and Breval, ibid.

the

the head of the *Gapencois*, at a brook running into the ſame river, and from the ſame ſide too; Tables, "Ictodorum, vi," Avencon on the Vence, another brook falling into the Durance, and ſtill on the *left* of it; "*Caturigas*, m. p. xii. [Catorigo-"magus, vii.]," by an extraordinary turn on the right, *Charges*, upon another brook running into the ſame river from the ſame ſide; "*Eburodunum*, "m. p. xii. [Eburuno, xvii.]," *Embrun*, on the ſame ſide of the river; "*Rame*, m. p. xviii. "[Rama, xviii.]," *Rame*, on the ſame ſide; "*Brigantionem*, m. p. xviii. [Brigantione, vi.]," *Briançon*, on the ſame ſide; Tables, "In Alpe "Cottia, v," Mount Genevre; Tables, "Ga-"daone, viii," Sezane; "Ad Martis, m. p. "xxiv. [Martis, xvii.]," Oulx; "*Seguſionem*, m. "p. xvi. [Seguſione, xxii.]," *Suſa*; "*Fines*, m. "p. xxxiii. [Finibus, xviii.]," by another extraordinary turn to the right, as the name and the diſtances unite to ſhew, *Feneſtrelle*; and "*Taurinos*, "m. p. xviii. [Auguſta Taurinor .....]," *Turin*[1]. Another *Iter* of the Romans gives us the *latter* part of the courſe, thus: "Manſio Hebriduno, "m. xvi. ..... Mutatio Rame, m. xvii. "Manſio Brigantum, m. xvii. There you aſcend

1 Antonine's Itinerary, ii. p. 21; ſecond ſegment of Peutinger's Tables; map prefixed to Berwick's Memoirs; map of Savoy, &c. in maps for Modern Univ. Hiſt.; Dury's map of Borgoni; D'Anville, 42, 42, 379, 673, and his map of Gallia Antiqua.

"the MATRONA," Mount GENEVRE. "Muta-
"tio Gesdagone, m. x. Mansio ad Marte, m. ix.
"Civitas Segusione, m. xvi. There begins
"Italy[m]. Marcellinus also tells us very corre-
spondently with this, though in a course the re-
verse of ours; that "from the summit of this
"cliff of Italy" above Susa, "a plain extends for
"seven miles to the station called Mars's; and
"hence another ascent, more steep and scarcely
"surmountable, stretches up to the top of the
"MATRONA," Mount GENEVRE, "which is
"named from an accident that befell a noble
"woman; from whence the road opens shelving,
"but more easy, even to the castle of Virgantia,"
Brigantia, or Briançon[n].

Strabo also tells us, at a much earlier period, and in the course of our present progression, that we may go "along another way, which passes
"through the country of the Vocontii and the
"land of Cottius: as far as Beaucaire and Ta-
"rascon, it is the common way from Nismes;

[m] Itinerarium a Burdigalâ. "Inde aspendis Matronam," and "Inde incipit Italia."

[n] Marcellinus, xv. c. 10. p. 109. Valesii, 1681. "A sum-
"mitate autem hujus Italicæ clivi, planitiis aduſque stationem
"nomine Martis per spatium extenditur millia: et hinc alia
"asperiora erectior, ægrique superabilis, ad Matronæ porri-
"gitur verticem, cujus vocabulum casus feminæ nobilis dedit:
"unde declivis quidem iter, sed angustius, aduſque castellum
"Virgantiam patet."

"thence

" thence also to the boundaries of the Vocontii, " and *the beginning of the ascent of the Alps*, over " the Durance and through Cavaillon, sixty-three " miles; and thence again to the other boundaries " of the Vocontii, towards the land of Cottius, a " hundred miles wanting one, unto the village of " Embrun; then, through the village of Brian- " con, through *Skincomagus*, and *over the summit of* " *the Alps*," the town on the top of Mount *Genévre* being denominated Skincomagus among the Gauls, *before* it and the hill took the Roman appellation of Matrona, " to Ocelum seventy-seven " miles°." The second, as we advance towards the

° Strabo, iv. 270. Κατα δε την ετεραν οδον την δια Ουοκοντιων και της Κοντιου [Κοτιου], μεχρι μεν ουν Γερνου [Ουγερνου] και Ταρασκωνος κοινη οδος απο Νεμαυσου· εντευθεν δε επι μεν τους Ουοκοντιων ορους και την αρχην της αναβασιως των Αλπεων, δια Δρουεντιας και Καβαλλιωνος, μιλια εξηκοντα τρια· παλιν δ' εντευθεν επι τους ετερους ορους των Ουοκοντιων, προς την Κοτιου, μιλια εκατον ενος δεοντα, εις Επεβροδουνον [Εβροδουνον] κωμην· Ειτ' αλλοι τοσουτοι [words wholly superfluous and greatly embarrassing] δια βριγαντιου κωμης, εκ [a word equally embarrassing and superfluous] Σκιγγομαγου, και της των Αλπεων ειπερθεσεως, επι Ωκελον. Strabo also adds here, that Italy begins at Skincomagus, η απο Σκιγγομαγου ηδη Ιταλια λογεται; an assertion historically impossible to be true, because all the land between Skincomagus and Ocelum *confessedly* belonged to Cottius's Alpine kingdom at this time, Ocelum being called by Strabo himself in this very passage, the limit of the land of Cottius, " Ωκελον το περας της Κοτιου γης; and contradicted indirectly by Marcellinus before, " a summitate hujus *Italici* " clivi," as the actual and existing boundary of Italy, but expressly by the Itinerary, " Inde," at Susa and at Marcellinus's Italian

the north, presents to us by an equal inversion "*Valentiam*, m. p. ....," *Valence*; "*Augustam*, "m. p. xxii," *Aoufte* on the river Drome; "*Deam* "Vocontiorum, m. p. xxiii," *Die* higher up the Drome; "*Lucum*, m. p. xii," *Luc* higher up the Drome ſtill; "*Montem Seleucum*, m. p. xxvi," La Battie *Mont Salcon*; "*Vapincum*, m. p. xxiv," *Gap*, as above: and then ſtretches away, as above, by Charges, Embrun, and Ranſe, to Briancon [p]. This latter route is partially in the Tables alſo. But then, inſtead of turning off at "Lucus" by "Mons Seleucus," for "Vapin-"cum" in the former, as that does; it goes on thus, "Auguſtum xiii. ad Deam Bocontiorum xii. "Luco xviii. *Geminas* xiii," *Mens*, and "*Gerainas* "xiii," *Jerain*, to "Brigantione, m. vi," or Briancon, as above [q]. Yet ſtill more northerly is a *third* road in the Tables, which extends from Vienne "Turcionico, xiiii," Ornacieu, "Mor-"ginno, xiiii," Moiran, "Culabone, xii," Grenoble, "Catoriſſium, v," Premol Chartroſſin near Vizille, "Mellofedo, x," Mizouin, "Durotinco,

Italian cliff near it, "incipit Italia." See ſection iii. hereafter, for the extent of Cottius's kingdom on the Alps. Pliny alſo mentions Skincomagus, under the name of Cincomagus, in iii. 108.

[p] Antonine's Itinerary, and D'Anville, 116-117, 263, 422-423, 464-465.

[q] Second ſegment; map in Berwick's Memoirs; and D'Anville, 344, 348.

"vii,"

" vii," Villars d'Arenes, " Stabatione, viii," Moneſtier, and ſo to Briancon[r]. Thus do theſe three roads all unite at Briancon. They there unite to form one grand road over Mount *Genévre*; while Mount *Cenis* appears demonſtrably from all, and from the total want of a Roman route over it, to have never had a paſſage acroſs it in the time of the Romans[s].

Shall we yet, however, carry Hannibal over the unformed paſs of Mount Cenis? Or ſhall we carry him more eaſily, by what we know to have been afterwards a formed and Roman road, acroſs Mount Genévre? We cannot do either, in an honeſt fidelity to the truth of hiſtory. Strabo indeed, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter[t], conducts Hannibal over Mount Genévre. Folard alſo does the

[r] Second ſegment; map in Memoirs; map of Savoy, &c. Dury's map, and D'Anville, 223, 663-664, 465-466, 213-214, 282, 613-614.

[s] " Le nom des Alpes Cottiennes n'etoit point encore mis " en oubli, dans l'onzieme ſiecle. Pierre-Damien écrivant à " Adelhaïde, fille de Mainfroi Marquis de Suſe, et femme " d'Amedée Comte de Maurienne, *la qualifie du titre de Duciſſa " Alpium Cottiarum*" (D'Anville, 56). M. Placide, in an uſeful Map of Savoy dedicated to his maſter Louis the XIVth, boldly calls them " Alpes Cottiennes ou de Dauphiné" at preſent. In map prefixed to Memoirs of Berwick, and in Memoirs, ii. 128, we ſee a level ſummit between Sezane and Feneſtrelle, actually called " Cotté Plane" to this day.

[t] Chap. iv. ſect. 6.

ſame,

ſame, taking him by a viſionary ſort of generalſhip *along no known road of the Romans, to Vizille*, Bourg d'Oiſans, Mont de Lens, Lautaret, and Briancon; then gaining the road of the Romans over theſe Cottian Alps, without ſeeming to be conſcious of his good fortune; leading Hannibal by it to Mount Genévre and Sezane; but, inſtead of keeping him on in the line of this road, along the level of the river, and down the deſcent of the valley of Sezane, to Oulx and to Suſa, ridiculouſly mounting the hills with him again to Col de Seſtriers, and going down them to Suſa; then more ridiculouſly leaving the valley of Suſa and the direct way to Turin, to climb the hills a third time, wantonly to repaſs the mountains which he had wantonly paſſed at Seſtriers before, to reach Col de Feneſtre near Feneſtrelle, to return into the valley of Pragelas which he had deſerted at Seſtriers, to return into it only a little below Seſtriers, and ſo come down to Pignerol for Turin. M. de St. Simon, the corrector of Folard, acts with the ſame ſpirit of folly, and proceeds to a ſtill greater extreme of abſurdity; with more than the lunatic generalſhip of Folard, never once confining Hannibal to a regular road, but ſetting him at every ſtep to expatiate at large over the face of the country, to pick his own blind way, to form his own broken route, and to wander wildly aſtray from all track of a road; bringing him perpetually *near* the Roman road, yet keeping him ſteadily

from

from it, leading him a little to the ſouth of Gap, leaving Charges and Embrun and Briancon all cloſe on his left, and turning him ſhort from Mount Genévre and Oulx to Mount Viſo, the ſprings of the Po, Carignan, and Turin[u]. Yet, independently of the high extravagance apparent upon the face of theſe two laſt routes, hiſtory forbids us with her loudeſt voice, to adopt any of them. This informs us, that from the point of the Rhone where Hannibal croſſed it, he did *not* direct his march by either Mount Viſo, Mount Genévre, or Mount Cenis, or by any ways adjoining to any of them. He did not proſecute at all that line of motion, which he had hitherto purſued. He did not advance directly up to the Alps, ridgy and ſteep as they roſe in diſtant miſts before him. He ſuddenly turned off from his former line. He ranged up along the eaſtern bank of the Rhone, towards Valence, Vienne, and Lyons. He thus left the long wall of the Alps at a diſtance on his right, while he kept the Rhone cloſe to him on his left. "He marched," ſays Livy, "UP THE CURRENT OF THE RHONE, towards the

[u] St. Simon's preface, xxxvii. &c. the Table of Compariſon at the end, and the two maps following; one of them having the courſe of Folard, and the other that of St. Simon, delineated upon them. Folard, ſays St. Simon, xxxiii, and (I believe) very truly, "a rejetté toutes les circonſtances de Polybe et "Tite-Live, qui ne quadroient pas avec ſon plan." This is a mode of acting, at once compendious, bold, and deciſive.

"MIDLAND

" MIDLAND parts of Gaule; *not* becauſe *this* was " the *direct* road to the Alps, but becauſe he " thought THE FARTHER HE ADVANCED FROM THE " SEA, the leſs likely he was to meet with the Ro- " mans; and he was inclined to avoid all en- " counters with them, *before* he had entered into " Italy [v]." Hannibal, adds Polybius, " took his " elephants and horſe, placed them in the rear of " his army, and advanced at the head of them " ALONG THE RIVER, marching OFF FROM THE " SEA, and puſhing, as it were, for the MIDLAND " parts of Europe [w]. Theſe paſſages are clear and peremptory, precluding all poſſibility of ſup- poſing, if we mean to be directed by hiſtory; that he left the Rhone, that he puſhed directly for the borders of Gaule and the barrier of the Alps, and that he croſſed either Mount Cenis, Mount Genévre, Mount Viſo, or any adjoining mountains, at all.

[v] Livy xxi. 31. " Profectus adverſâ ripâ Rhodani, medi- " terranea Galliæ petiit; non quia rectior ad Alpes via eſſet, " ſed quantum à mari receſſiſſet, minùs, obvium fore Roma- " num credens; cum quo, priuſquam in Italiam ventum fo- " ret, non erat in animo manus conſerere."

[w] Polybius, iii. 47. Αναλαβων Αννιβας τους ελεφαντας και ιππους, οπισθοφυλακουντας τοις αποσκευαις, παρα τον ποταμον, απο θαλαττης—ποιουμενος την πορειαν επι το μεσογειακον της Ευρωπης. " Annibal, making " his rear-guard of the elephants and cavalry, *continued his* " *march*," marched at the head of them, " along the river," &c. i. 349.

—III.—

THE reaſon of his conduct in the preſent moment, was this. At the very time that he reached the banks of the Rhone, Scipio (the father of the famous Africanus) landed at the mouth of it with an army to engage him. The Roman was ſurprized to hear, that the enemy was ſo near him. He had thought it impoſſible for Hannibal, to have croſſed the Pyrenees, to have penetrated through the various ſtates of Gaule, and to have reached the Rhone ſo ſpeedily. Hannibal too was equally ſurprized to hear, that the Romans were ſo ſpeedily landed in Gaule to oppoſe him *. With ſuch a juſt admiration of each other's activity and vigour, did theſe two generals commence that courſe of national rivalſhip, which was now inflamed to a heat impoſſible to be cooled, but by the deſtruction of one of the contending parties; was intended to make either Rome or Carthage, the empreſs of our weſtern world; and was ſure, in that inſulated ſtate of ſociety in which every kingdom of it ſtood at this period, and in that conſequent facility with which a whole kingdom was then reduced, to give all a form, either Phœnician or Italian, for a round of ages afterwards! Hannibal was at firſt doubt-

* Livy, xxi. 26. and Polybius, iii. 41 and 44.

ful,

ful, what plan of operations he ſhould purſue; whether he ſhould continue his commenced march into Italy, or whether he ſhould turn and attack the Romans [y]. But he was ſoon determined, and by an accident of a ſingular nature. At this very point of his march he was met by a formal train of embaſſadors, from ſome Gallic ſtates in Italy. Theſe were petty kings of the Boii; with another petty king of the name of MAGALUS, at the head of them [z]. They declared to him the readineſs of their reſpective kingdoms, to join him on his arrival in Italy. They urged him, therefore, to march with all expedition into Italy; to avoid any engagement with the Romans, till he could receive the large and ample ſuccours which were preparing for him there; and to leave the Roman army at the mouth of the Rhone, behind him. They alſo promiſed to conduct him, by a ſhort and ſafe way, into Italy [a]. To men who were familiar with the road, it would naturally appear ſafe and ſhort, though it might be, and, as a paſs over the Alps, could not but be, dangerous and long. Hannibal and the army were

y Livy, xxi. 29. "Hannibalem incertum, utrum cœptum in Italiam tenderet iter, an cum eo qui primus ſe obtuliſſet Romanus exercitus, manus conſereret, avertit," &c.

z Livy, xxi. 29. "Avertit Boiorum legatorum regulique "Magali adventus"; and Polybius, iii. 44. Τους βασιλισκους τους περι Μαγαλον.

a Polybius, iii. 44. and Livy, xxi. 29 and 30.

pleaſed

struck with the seasonable arrival, and were pleased with the fair promises, of these Italian Gauls. A resolution was formed for marching up the Rhone, under their guidance, and towards their road. For that purpose it was, that Hannibal made the grand bend in the line of his march, and faced about to the north [b].

He thus marched away towards VALENCE, which, as the Roman name seems to announce, was no town at the time. He had with him EIGHT AND THIRTY THOUSAND INFANTRY, and more than EIGHT THOUSAND HORSE [c]. But, about three miles to the north of Valence, is the union of the Isara with the Rhone [d]. *That* river is amazingly

[b] Livy, xxi. 29—31. Polybius, iii. 44. and iii. 49. Οδηγοις και καθηγεμοσιν εγχωριοις εχρητο, τοις των αυτων ελπιδων μελλουσι κοινωνειν.

[c] Polybius, iii. 60. Ορμησας απο της του Ροδανου διαβασεως, πεζους μεν εις οκτακισχιλιους και τρισμυριους εχων, ιππους δε πλειους οκτακισχιλιων. "This army, when it passed the Rhone, consisted of thirty-eight thousand foot and" *more than* "eight thousand horse" (i. 371). Appian (Amstell. 1670) erroneously says, i. 546, that Hannibal had ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse.

[d] Plancus, in Cicero's Epist. ad Plancum, &c. x. 15, speaks of the "Isara, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum"; and Pliny, iii. 4, notices the Rhone as bringing with it "nec minùs seipso torrentes Isaram," &c. As we are now come to one local appellative, the true pronunciation of which

zingly rapid at times, especially on the dissolution of the snows upon those Alps, among which it rises.

which is universally (I believe) mistaken, let me ascertain it at once by this line from Lucan:

Et vada liquerunt *Isaræ*, qui gurgite ductus, &c.

In the same manner, another line from Sidonius Apollinaris *founds* decisively the mispronounced names, of two other rivers in the same country:

Rhenus, Arar, Rhodanus, Mosa, *Matrona*, *Sequana*, Ledus.

So Burdigāla, as spoken now, was spoken Burdigăla by the Romans; which the bard of Bourdeaux, Ausonius, witnesses himself,

Burdigala est natale solum, clementia cœli, &c.

And

Santonus, ut sibi *Burdigalam*, mòx jungit Aginnum, &c.

The Hædŭi also of modern Latinity were Hædŭi with the antient, as appears from the name in Greek, Εδουοι and Αιδουοι; the mountain that Cæsar says gives rise to the Meuse, "Mosa "profluit ex monte Vogeso", however accentuated *long* in our mouths, was *short* in the Roman:

Castraque quæ *Vogesi* curvum super ardua rupem.

LUCAN.

Cæsar's "flumen *Axona*, quod est in extremis Rhemorum "finibus," appears to have had its name contracted into the present *Aisne*, by *this* rapid mode of speaking it,

Non tibi se Liger anteferet, non *Axona* præceps.

AUSONIUS.

And the Attrebātes of France and our own island, are Atrebātes in Sidonius,

. . . . . qua Cloio patentes
Attrebatum terras perfluaserat.

This

rifes. On this account I believe no bridge has been laid over it, near its mouth; though the great road from Lyons to Avignon, to Arles, and to Marſeilles, lies directly acroſs it there; and though the French kings have lately been ſo uſefully munificent, in improving the roads of their country. The only mode of paſſing it ordinarily, is by a ferry-boat ſliding along the faſtened line of a rope; a mode ſeemingly reliſhing of ancient rudeneſs, and often attended with conſiderable danger [e]. Here, therefore, Hannibal would naturally halt, and prepare for paſſing the Iſere, juſt as he paſſed the Rhone before, by the boats of the country ordered up the river for the purpoſe, and by the extemporaneous craft, on which a detachment of his army had croſſed the Rhone and the Iſere, two or three days before [f]. He had then, in addition to all the reſt of his army, a train of SEVEN AND THIRTY ELEPHANTS OF INDIA accompanying him [g]. Accordingly, in the beginning of the laſt century, juſt at the

This is no bad ſpecimen of the errors in *orthoepy*, into which ſcholars are daily falling, for want of attention to the real proſody of the Romans.

e Breval's Second Travels, ii. 133.

f Polybius, iii. 42. and Livy, xxi. 27.

g Polyb. iii. 42. Ἐλέφαντας καὶ τριακοντα, and iii. 46. Τοὺς μὲν Ἰνδοὺς. The *Indians* are made with a careleſs indiſcrimination by Mr. Hampton, ſimply "their conductors." i. 348. Appian, i. 546. agrees in this number.

angle of union between these two rivers, and consequently on the very ground of Hannibal's halt, were found some enormous bones in the earth; which passed current with the generality for the remains of the Cimbrian king Teutobocchus, most mistakenly supposed to be slain by the Romans here; were even presented as such to Louis the Twelfth; but were in reality, no doubt, the relics either of one of Hannibal's elephants, that died at the place, or of one of the Roman elephants, that fell in a bloody battle fought afterwards with the Gauls upon this very ground[h].

— IV. —

[h] Breval's Second Travels, ii. 133. It was pretended by *some* at the time, that a sepulchre was found in the earth, *bricked* about, *thirty* feet long, *twelve* broad, and *eight* high; over which was a stone with a *Latin* inscription, THEUTOBOCHUS REX; and within which was a human body, *twenty-five and a half* long, and *ten* broad over the shoulders. These fictions refute themselves by their extravagance. But Peiresk shewed the sepulchre and the inscription to be both false, and averred the bones to be those of an elephant (see a note in Duker's Florus, iii. 3). Nor had the fiction one inch of historical ground to stand upon. Teutobocchus was fought by Marius, not here, but at *Aix*, "in loco quem aquas Sextias vocant" (Florus, iii. 3). Nor was he KILLED even there. He escaped out of the battle, but was taken, and actually carried to Rome. "Proximoque in saltu comprehensus, insigne spectaculum "*triumphi* fuit, quippe vir proceritatis eximiæ super *trophæa* "*sua* eminebat."

This ground, however, was the real scene of another battle, betwixt the days of Marius and the time of Hannibal.

— IV. —

HANNIBAL now marched by VIENNE to LYONS. This he reached on the fourth day from his paſſage

Mr. Pownall has lately written upon the ſubject, in his Antiquities of Provence, &c. but has thought without accuracy, and concluded againſt evidence. The triumphal arch of Orange he has deſcribed with ingenuity and judgement, referring it to *Fabius Maximus*, who defeated the united Allobroges and Arverni, and (as he thinks) on *the ſite of Valence* (p. 36, 31, and 33). He quotes Strabo in confirmation of this opinion (p. 36); yet Strabo proves directly the contrary. The words of the geographer are theſe, as cited by Mr. Pownall himſelf: Σουλγας καὶα Ουινδαλιν πολιν μισγομενος τῳ Ροδανῳ, οπου Γναιος Αηνοβαρβος μεγαλῃ μαχῃ πολλας ἱρυσαλο Κελτων μυριαδας: "the Solga," now the Sorgue, "unites with the Rhone by the town Vin-"dalis, where Cnæus Ænobarbus defeated many myriads of "the Gauls in a great battle." Καθ'ο δι, adds Strabo, συμπιπλουσιν ο Ισαρ πολαμος και ο Ροδανος και το Κεμμενον ορος, Κοϊντος Φαβιος Μαξιμος Αιμιλιανος, ουχ' ολαις τρισι μυριασιν, εικοσι μυριαδας Κελτων καλεκοψεν, και ιδρυσε τροπαιον αυτοθι λευκου λιθου, και νεως δυο, τον μεν Αρεως τον δε Ηρακλειους; "where the river Iſere, the "Rhone, and the Cevennes unite, Quintus Fabius Maximus "Æmilianus, with not quite thirty thouſand men, defeated "two hundred thouſands of the Gauls, and erected there a "trophy of white ſtone, and two temples; one to Mars, and "the other to Hercules" (iv. 283). This couple of paſſages does indeed, as Mr. Pownall ſays, "fix preciſely the "places of each of theſe trophies;" but fixes them very differently from Mr. Pownall himſelf. The paſſages actually deſtroy all, that he has written concerning the origin of the arch at Orange. This trophy cannot belong to Fabius, as *his*

ſage over the Rhone[1]. He therefore marched very expeditiouſly, in order to leave the Romans the

trophy was erected where his battle was fought, at *the union of the Iſere with the Rhone.* Εστησε τροπαιον αυτοθι. Florus alſo ſays the ſame: "Domitius Ænobarbus et *Fabius Maximus* ipſis "*quibus dimicaverant in locis*, ſaxeas erexêre turres, et deſuper "exornatâ armis hoſtilibus *trophæa* fixêre" (iii. 2). Fabius's trophy, therefore, was at or near the confluence of the Rhone and Iſere, this very ground of Hannibal's preſent halt, and *more than a hundred miles* to the north of Orange.

But Strabo proves this arch to be *Ænobarbus's*. He alſo erected *his* trophy, *where* he fought his battle. This he fought, we ſee, where "the Sorgue unites with the Rhone," and, conſequently, in the immediate vicinity of Orange. Nor muſt we ſuppoſe, as Strabo and Florus ſeem to inſinuate, and as all our writers have taken for granted from them; that theſe towers of trophy were fixed upon the very fields of battle, the open heath, or the bleak mountain, on which the battles were fought. No! Common ſenſe forbids this. They would thus be liable to be torn down by any general inſurrection, or even any petty commotion, among the Allobroges of the country. They would certainly be fixed in towns, as at once ornamental to them and protected by them. They would be erected in the *colony*, neareſt to each of them. There is accordingly none, either in remains or in tradition, at the conjunction of the Sorgue with the Rhone, or at the town Vindalis, now Font de Sorgue (Breval's Second Travels, ii. 141). Nor are there any remains or any tradition of one, at the coincidence of the Rhone with the Iſere. *Ænobarbus's* indeed was erected at *Orange*, a *colony* (Mela ii. 5), about twelve miles only from the mouth of the Sorgue (D'Anville, 261); and, as the line of the road is directed to go under it (Pownall, 21), was originally a gate to the colony, with a tower over it (ſee Plates in Breval, ii. 145). *Fabius's* therefore, with his *two temples*,

was

the further behind him. He actually ſhews his apprehenſions of their following and overtaking him, by inverting the uſual order of his march, in ſtationing thoſe elephants and that cavalry for his rear, which (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) at other times he ordinarily placed for his van. He thus "came to an iſland," ſays Livy, "where the "ARAR and the Rhone, running down from dif- "ferent parts of the Alps, and comprehending "a portion of ground between them, unite to- "gether; to this ground they give the name of "iſland[k]." "He came," adds Polybius, "to "what is called an iſland, a region very popu- "lous and fruitful in corn; deriving its appel- "lation from its circumſtances; as *here* the

was erected at what was equally a colony (Ptolemy, ii. 10, p. 55), *Valence*, only *three* miles from the mouth of the Iſere.

We thus appropriate the arch of Orange deciſively, I think. We alſo aſcertain the *place* of the *ſecond* trophy, which has long vaniſhed with its temples accompanying it. Nor do I wiſh to add more, than that Fabius appears in this very battle at the mouth of the Iſere, to have had *elephants* with him (Florus, iii. 2); and that therefore the remains found upon the ground, may as probably be one of his elephants as of Hannibal's.

[i] Polybius, iii. 49. Ποιησαμενος εξης επι τετταρας ημερας την πορειαν απο της διαβασεως, and Livy, "xxi. 31, "quartis caſ- "tris."

[k] Livy, xxi. 31. "Ad inſulam pervenit; ibi Arar Rho- "danuſque amnes, diverſis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri ali- "quantum amplexi, confluunt in unum; mediis campis in- "ſulæ nomen inditum."

" Rhone, and *there* what is denominated the " ARAR, running along either ſide of it, give a " pointedneſs to its form at their conjunction: " and it is very ſimilar, in ſize and in figure, to " that region of Egypt which is called the Delta; " *one ſide of the latter being* bounded by the " ſea and the Nile's currents, and one of the for- " mer being guarded by mountains, of difficult " aſcent up the ſides, of difficult landing upon " the ſummit, and almoſt (I may ſay) inac- " ceſſible."[1] The place, to which Hannibal was now come, is here pointed out to us by the pre-

[1] Polybius, iii. 49. Ηκε προς την καλουμενην Νησον, χωραν πολυοχλον και σιτοφορον, εχουσαν δε την προσηγοριαν απ' αυτου του συμπτωματος· τη μεν γαρ ο Ροδανος, τη δε ο Αραρος προσαγορευομενος, ρευσεις παρ' εκατερα την πλευραν, αποκαρυφωσιν αυτης το σχημα καθα την προς αλληλους συμπτωσιν· εστι δε παραπλησια τη μεγεθει και τω σχηματι, τω παρ' Αιγυπτω καλουμενω Δελτα. πλην εκεινου μεν θαλαττα την μιαν πλευραν, και τας των ποταμων ρευσεις επιζευγνυσι, ταυτης δ' ορη δυσπροσοδα, και δυσεμβολα, και σχεδον (ως ειπειν) απροσιτα. They "arrived at a " place that was *very* fertile in corn, and poſſeſſed by a nume- " rous people. It was called the Iſland, becauſe the Rhone and " *Iſara*, running on both ſides of it, fall together below, and " ſharpen the land into a point. This place, both in its ſize " and figure, reſembles that part of Egypt which is called the " Delta; with this difference only," the Latin being "eo " differunt quod," when the Engliſh is literally *and*, " that " one of the ſides of the latter is waſhed by the ſea, which re- " ceives the rivers that incloſe the other two, whereas the " third ſide of the iſland is defended by a chain of *very rough* " and *lofty* mountains, which *indeed* are almoſt inacceſſible," i. 353—354. This verſion, beſides the marked deviations from the ſenſe, is very heavy, aukward, and clumſy.

ciſeſt

ciſeſt of all ſignatures in nature, the confluence of two rivers, the Saone and the Rhone [m]. Theſe we all know to unite, immediately below the preſent city of Lyons [n].

But where is the *iſland*, that both theſe hiſtorians mention; the very Delta of Gaul? Is there ſuch an iſland, or any iſland at Lyons now? There was formerly, and there is at preſent.

[m] The name Αραρος being corrupted in ſome manuſcripts of Polybius into Σκωρας, or ſome name of a place equally non-exiſtent, Mr. Hampton, and a few readers beſide, who call *themſelves* "les critiques les plus judicieux" (D'Anville, 386), have taken their ground upon the corruption, deny the river to be the Arar, and maintain it to be the Iſere. At the head of theſe are the great geographer D'Anville, the author of "Religion des Gaulois," Folard, and St. Simon. But their operations are unhiſtorical, and their efforts are inſignificant. At the mouth of the Iſere is no iſle at all. They are therefore obliged to create, what they cannot find; to create it in ſuch a manner, as is practicable in *any* region of the world; to *put a large canton for an iſle*, and to *inſulate only one half of it*. They thus ſquare half the circle. I ſhall inſtantly ſhew the Arar, to have actually a ſmall iſland at its mouth; and ſuch an iſland, as can alone agree with the circumſtances of the future hiſtory. The copies of Livy's hiſtory, too, all prove the copies of Polybius's to have had *Arar* originally in them; as Gronovius's ſtill have. Thoſe may ſtand for the moſt ancient manuſcripts of Polybius, and tell us *their* original reading deciſively.

[n] The name of Saone for the Arar is not, as it ſeems to be, a modern one for that river. The Arar is ſo called, even by Marcellinus: "Rhodanus—Ararim, *quem Sauconnam appellant*, "—ſuum in nomen adſciſcit" (xv. xi. p. 105). The new name, therefore, began in his time.

Polybius

Polybius is expressly declared by himself, as he was born a few years after these operations, "to "have had the transactions recited to him, by the "very men who livedat the times; to have viewed "the scenes of action himself, and to have tra-"velled in person the road through the Alps, in "order to know and to see [o]. He even specifies Gaule in particular, as one of the regions which he had thus visited [p]. And his description of the island above, from the very particularity of its touches, refers us to actual vision for its origin. Where, however, was and is this island? Menetrier, who wrote a dissertation on the history of Lyons in 1695, discovered what nothing perhaps but the zeal of a local historian could ever have found. In looking over some very old records relating to the town, he found mention made ex-

[o] Polybius iii. 48. Δια το περι των πραξεων παρ' αυτων ιστορηκεναι, των παραλελευχοτων τοις καιροις, τους δε τοπους κατωπτευκεναι, και τη δια των Αλπεων αυτος κεχρησθαι πορεια, γνωσεως εινεκα και θεας. "I not only received my account from persons, that lived in "the times of which I am writing, but have also" *viewed the scenes of action*, and "passed the Alps, myself, for the sake of "gaining a more full and accurate knowledge of the truth" (i. 352). Where Polybius is brief, there Mr. Hampton is diffuse; and where Polybius is diffuse, there Mr. Hampton is brief. So contradictory in its air and attitude, is the copied picture to the original! But Polybius first appears upon the stage of public business, about the year 170 before Christ; when he was sent by the state of Achaia to the Roman Consul in Thessaly, and was then about thirty probably. He was thus born about 200 before our æra, and Hannibal crossed the Alps 218 before it. [p] Polybius iii. 59. Γαλατιαν.

pressly

preſsly of the iſland, even ſo late as the year 1000; a donation being there made to the abbey of Aiſney in Lyons, as "the very holy church of "God, which is built in *the iſland Athanacus*[q]." But the antiquary has here done, what antiquaries, like Germans, with their genius in their backs, are very apt to do; diſcovered what is of little ſervice to the hiſtory, and drawn out evidence from the rubbiſh of ages, that was not wanted to elucidate it. A lamp may burn bright in the ſecret ſepulcher of antiquity, yet would caſt only an uſeleſs gleam acroſs the light of day. Neither Livy nor Polybius aſſerts the ground, to be an abſolute iſland. "Hannibal," ſays Livy, "came "to an *iſland*," formed by the Arar upon one ſide, and the Rhone on the other, which *could* not form an abſolute iſland; "and to this ground they "give the *name* of Iſland." "He came," adds Polybius, "to what is *called* an Iſland,—*one ſide*— "*being guarded by mountains.*" The ground therefore was only peninſular, being backed by the mountains on the north, lined by the Rhone on the eaſt and the Arar on the weſt, but terminating in a point, the very *vertex* of the Delta, at the union of both on the ſouth. Yet, with a ſtill greater ſuperfluity of zeal, Menetrier diſcovered

[q] "Sacroſanctæ Dei eccleſiæ, quæ eſt conſtructa in inſula "quæ Athanacus nuncupatur." Breval's Firſt Travels (publiſhed 1726), i. 228. See alſo Hiſtoire de Ville de Lyon, ii. 20-21.

" that there was a ſecond and a much ſhorter " communication anciently, between the two " rivers, by the means of a canal; which canal " made the third ſide of an iſland, in every re- " ſpect like that deſcribed by Polybius." Here the ſepulchral lamp of the antiquary goes out, the moment we come up to day-light; and leaves only a ſmoke and ſtench behind it. The very baſe of the Delta we know to have been formed by mountains, and the ſides alone to have been formed by water. There was no more water at the baſe, than there were mountains on the ſides. The channel therefore, which ſlightly connected the two rivers before they intermingled for ever, and ſo inſulated the preſent ſite of Lyons completely, could not have exiſted in the days of Hannibal, and was certainly artificial in itſelf. It is now filled up with earth, and covered over with buildings, but ſtill indicates its previous exiſtence by its preſent appellation; the buildings being called *Place des Terreaux*, or the Square of the *Canal*, in that provinciality of language which was formerly objected to Livy, under the ſpecial name of *Patavinitas*, and which ſurpriſingly retains the general name of *Patois* to this day, in France and Italy. But it appears more plainly ſtill to have been a *canal* only, from a couple of flood-hatches that had been ſet up, one at each end, in

[a] Breval i. 227-228.

order

order to form the canal; and have lent an adjoining ſtreet, the denomination of *Rue d'Ecloiſons* or the Street of the Sluices[s]. Theſe ſignificant names indeed imply the inſulating channel, to aſk no antiquary's reſearches for the diſcovery of it, to require no lamp from the ſepulcher for diſpelling the darkneſs over it, but to appear in open day, and to have ſo appeared only a century or two ago. There are accordingly ſome ancient maps of the town, that note the actual exiſtence of the canal at the very time of their formation[t]. And the ground of Lyons is *without* the canal, "in every reſpect like that deſcribed by Polybius," a peninſula, popularly denominated, as a peninſula popularly is in every country, an iſland.

The mountains then "of difficult aſcent up the "ſides, of difficult landing on the ſummit, and "almoſt (Polybius may ſay) inacceſſible," are undoubtedly Mount Fourviere and its three elevations, the hill of St. Irenæus, the hill of St. Juſt,

[s] Breval i. 228.

[t] "L'ancien canal de communication, qui occupoit autrefois le terrein, où eſt aujourdhui l'Hotel de Ville avec la "Place des Terreaux, et ce qui ſuit, joignoit dans cet endroit "la Saône avec le Rhone; *comme on le voit encore dans les anciennes Cartes de Lyon.*" Hiſtoire i. 6. Yet M. de St. Simon knows no more of this iſle, than juſt to mention it thus: "le "nom d'iſle, donné par le Pere Thuillier à l'angle de terre où "Lyon eſt bati," &c. p. xvii.

and

and Mount St. Sebaſtian [u]. *Thoſe* are declared to bound one ſide of the peninſula, and *theſe* actually bound it at preſent. One of our Engliſh travellers ſpeaks of "the hills, which hang about this "city [v]." A French writer calls them expreſsly "that chain of mountains, which extends from "the gate of St. George and of St. Juſt, up to "the caſtle of Pierre Cize;" a rocky extremity of the whole, that has been cut away for the paſſage of a Roman road [w]. "All yeſterday morning," adds Mr. Gray, the moſt ingenious of our travellers, "we were buſied in climbing up Mount "Fourviere, where the ancient city ſtood perched "at ſuch a height, that nothing but the hopes of "gain could certainly ever perſuade their neigh-"bours, to pay them a viſit [x]." A French eccleſiaſtic of the laſt century, who was confined by the court to Lyons for a long time, ſpeaks very nearly the ſame language, and yet ſays more juſtly; "the mountain of Fourviere is upon one "ſide ſo high and ſo ſteep, that it plainly looks

[u] Hiſtoire i. 17. "Cette agréable montagne, qu'on nomme "aujourdhui la Montagne de St. Juſt et de St. Irenée;" i. 269. "Montagnes de Fourviere et St. Juſt;" i. 82. "La Mon-"tagne de St. Irenée."

[v] Thickneſſe, ii. 88.

[w] Hiſtoire i. 273. "Cette chaine de montagnes, qui s'etend "depuis la porte de St. George et de St. Juſt, juſqu' au Cha-"teau de Pierre Cize;" i. 279. "Tout cet eſpace de terrain, "qui s'etend depuis Saint Irenée juſques à Pierre Cize."

[x] Maſon's Memoirs of Gray, 55.

"as

" as if nature had a mind to render it, thoroughly " impracticable for the commerce of the Saone[y]." Theſe accounts of the hills reflect ſtrongly the features of Polybius's deſcription. We need not, we ſee, to ſuppoſe what is not true, to conſider Polybius as deſcribing what he had never ſeen, and ſo to make allowance for that magnifying miſt in his account, with which objects never ſeen are frequently inveſted, by tranſmitted and ſecondary delineations. He beheld, he deſcribed, and we immediately recognize the ancient hills in the modern. But there was even then a town upon the hills, and the metropolis of a nation; the *original* town of Lyons, metropolis to the nation of the SEGUSIANI. Cæſar ſays of the Seguſiani, that " they are the firſt people, beyond the Ro- " man dominions and on the other ſide of the " Rhone[z]." " The Seouſiani," adds Pliny, " are

[y] " La Montagne de Fourviere eſt d'une part ſi haute et ſi " eſcarpée, qu'il paroit bien que la nature a voulu la rendre " impracticable ſur-tout, pour le commerce de la Saone." Hiſtoire i. 267, from M. de Marca.

[z] Cæſar De Bello Gall. i. 10, p. 13, Davis. " Hi ſunt ex- " tra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi." So Marcellinus (xv. xi. p. 105) ſays of the point of confluence between the Saone and Rhone, " qui locus exordium eſt Galliarum." Was the grand ferry between Celtic and Roman Gaule, then fixed at Lyons; as the grand bridge now is betwixt Dauphiny and the reſt of France? From ſome ſuch circumſtance alone, *could* the Seguſiani be conſidered as the *firſt* beyond the provinciated Gauls, and Lyons be called the very *commencement* of Celtic Gaule.

" thoſe

" thoſe in whoſe land is the colony of Lyons [a]."
" This city," ſubjoins Strabo, " preſides over the " nation of the Segoſiani [b]." It was even a populous town in the days of Hannibal, Polybius conſidering the mountains on which it ſtood, as a part of that Delta to which they formed the baſe; and therefore deſcribing the iſle as " very " populous" in the town, though " fruitful in " corn" upon the inſular level below. This town was made a Roman colony, juſt after the aſſaſſination of Cæſar. The Allobroges, riſing in rebellion againſt the Romans, expelled the ſoldiers who were ſettled in their capital, Vienne. Theſe retired along the Rhone to Lyons, and took up their abode there for the preſent. But the Senate of Rome ordered Munatius Plancus, one of their commanders in Gaule, to provide them a fixed and permanent habitation. Plancus accordingly provided one for them, by giving them the capital of the Seguſiani, inſtead of the metropolis of the Allobroges; and ſo fixing them for ever at their preſent reſidence [c].

— IV. —

[a] Pliny, iv. 18. " Secuſiani, —— in quorum agro colonia Lugdunum."

[b] Strabo, iv. 292. Προκαθηται δε του εθνους του Σαιγοσιανων η πολις αυτη.

[c] Dio xlvi. 50. p. 486. Reimar. Hamburgi. 1750. Εκελευσαν αυτοις τους εκ Ουιεννης της Ναρβωνησιας, υπο των Αλλοβρογων πολε εκπεσουσας, και ες το μεταξυ του τε Ροδανου και του Αραριδος η συμμιγνυται αλληλοις, ιδρυθηναι, συνοικισαι· Και ουτως εκεινοι υπομειναντες, το Λουγουδουνον

— V. —

Nor was this town under the Romans now, any more than under the Gauls before, upon the low ground beneath the hill; being equally still upon the crest of Polybius's mountains. This is plain, from the remains of the Romans there at present. On Mount Fourviere are the ruins of that imperial palace, which was built by Antony, was the birth-place of Claudius, and had the em-

Λογοδουνον μεν ονομασθεν, νυν δε Λουγδουνον καλουμενον, εκτισαν. That these expelled inhabitants of Vienne were *Romans*, is plain from two facts. The very man who settled them at Lyons, is declared in his own epitaph to have settled a *colony* at Lyons; "in Galliâ *colonias* deduxit *Lugdunum* et Rauricam" (Histoire i. 8, and Breval's First Travels, i. 225-226). And Lyons was ever afterwards a colony of Romans. This passage in Dio takes away the two towns of different dates, which Menetrier in his petty zeal has built here; one called Lugudunum, and the other Lugdunum; *that* built by the Rhodian Momorus and Atepomarus on the *hills*, and *this* by the Roman Plancus on the *island* (Histoire i. 22-23, and Breval, 225-226). Dio proves decisively in what he says above, of "the Romans possessing "what was then called Lug*u*dunum, and now denominated "Lugdunum;" that these were only two names for one town, which was built originally by the Gauls, as the Gallic name shows, and afterwards enlarged by the Romans, on their settling a colony within it; that Lug*u*dunum was the original name, and prevailed to the settlement of the Romans; and that it was afterwards abbreviated into Lugdunum by the Romans, as it is actually abbreviated by Pliny before, and in the immediately antecedent epitaph of Plancus himself

perors Claudius and Auguſtus ſucceſſively for its inhabitants. But being built at ſo early a period as the days of Antony, and in a region ſo newly conquered as Gaule, it has nothing but its antiquity to engage our reſpect; conſiſting only of a ſingle arch, that is compoſed of three ſemi-circles of large rough ſtones, almoſt buried in the earth, and of a wall about a hundred and forty-five feet in length, only forty-five in height, that is formed of brick and ſtone in courſes, five courſes of ſtone being bound by two of brick, and all united by a cement, that from the very mode of making and applying Roman cement, by mixing ſand, gravel, and pebbles with the lime, and pouring it boiling hot upon the cold ſtones, has acquired the uſual hardneſs of ancient morter, and is even as hard as iron itſelf [d]. This palace made Lyons of courſe, what it continued to be for ages afterward, and what it is expreſsly denominated by the Tables of Peutinger, "the Capital of Gaule [e]." On the ſame hill, and on the hill of St. Irenæus, are the eight concluding arches of a moſt magnificent aqueduct; which is aſſerted by all the reporters of tradition, and believed by all the diſciples of antiquarianiſm, to have been conſtructed equally with the palace by Antony, but which appears to be formed in a ſuperior ſtyle of architecture, and

[d] Hiſtoire i. 107, and 152; Gray, 56; and for Roman cement, Hiſtory of Manchester, i. 46-47, octavo.

[e] Segment i. "Lugduno caput Galliar."

was therefore erected, as I ſhall ſoon ſhow ſome pipes from it to have been actually laid, by Claudius, the *native* friend and *peculiar* patron of Lyons; and which (in the ſtrange ſuperfluity and unwieldy pomp of elegance, that now began to actuate the Romans from the vanity of imperial grandeur) conveyed a whole river for more than twenty miles together, upon arches of ſtone over occurring vallies, and along tunnels of ſtone through oppoſing hills, to the dry ſummits of thoſe heights, for the uſe of their Roman and Gallic inhabitants [f]. Another aqueduct of a humbler and wiſer nature, being not raiſed upon arches, but laid (like our wooden pipes from Iſlington to London) upon the ground, appears in ſome conſiderable remains at an aſcent not far from Lyons, and points directly upon the hill of St. Sebaſtian [g].

On Mount Fourviere alſo centered all the four roads, that Agrippa laid from Lyons to the Pyrenees, to the Rhine, to the Britiſh Channel, and to Narbonne [h]: Lyons having the ſingular good-fortune to be patronized equally by Antony and by Auguſtus, and to be honoured ſucceſſively with the reſidence of thoſe two rivals in empire, for both of whom together the wide extent of the

[f] Hiſtoire i. 47, and plate; Gray, 56.
[g] Hiſtoire i. 30-31. [h] Strabo, iv. 318.

Roman dominions was too ſmall. The road to Narbonne yet appears upon one ſide of the hill, between the gates of St. George and St. Juſt, compoſed of little flints that are ſtrongly cemented together, as hard as a pillar of porphyry or a column of granite. They muſt therefore have been *intolerably hard*, to the foot of the man or the hoof of the beaſt that travelled over them, and *formidably ſlippery* to the wheels of carriages paſſing along them; thoſe who went ſo much into a wild exorbitance of luxury for the ſimple element of water, forming roads for themſelves as hard as a granite or a porphyry; and their roads continuing ſo firm and ſound as this does to the preſent day, *becauſe* travellers, whenever they could, turned off from the uneaſy pavement, and went upon the natural ground along it [i]. Thus is it carried up the precipicious part of the mountain, having the face of the mountain ſecured from falling down upon the road, and the ſteepneſs of the deſcent ſoftened in its courſe, by ranges of collateral arches, nine in one place, three fours in another, and one four in another [k]. The Romans, we ſee, failed not in the formation of their roads, through any want of attention or from any frugality of expence; were, indeed, as pompous in their roads as in their conduits, and much more rationally ſo in

[i] See Hiſtory of Manchester, i. 228.

[k] Hiſtoire i. 62-63, and Breval's Firſt Travels, i. 236.

thoſe

thoſe than in theſe; only made thoſe ſo hard, from not adverting to the obvious principles, of conſtructing their ways with binding gravel on the ſurface, and training them in traverſes down a precipice. Yet for want of a continuance of Roman care, and from the falling aſſuredly of the face of the mountain, ſome parts of this road are now buried no leſs than twelve feet in depth [l].

On the hill of St. Juſt are conſiderable remains of a Roman bath, with its row of porticoes upon three ſides; on the hill of Fourviere, are the relics of a Roman theater; and on the ſide of St. Sebaſtian's, in 1561, were the veſtiges of an amphitheater [m]. On all theſe hills of Fourviere, St.

[l] Breval's Firſt Travels, i. 236, and Gray, 56.

[m] Hiſtoire i. 48, 270, 153. Father Colonia has confounded that theater and this amphitheater together. He knows nothing of the latter, therefore ſuppoſes the former to be meant by the hiſtorians of Lyons, when they ſpeak of an amphitheater; and reproves them for the abuſive application of the name (i. 272). He even believes, with the multitude (I ſuppoſe), that the theater was the ſcene of the martyrdom, which in Euſebius is expreſsly appropriated to the amphitheater, even as the Father himſelf cites him (270 and 272). The Father attended not to his own quotations, either from him or from an account of Lyons in 1561, which notices equally, "*les veſtiges de l'Amphitheatre* ſur la coté Saint Sebaſtien et en la vigne d'Auſerre, "une partie du *Theatre* à la vigne de Barondeo vers Fourviere" (i. 153). Deſtroyed ſince, the amphitheater is forgotten equally by the townſmen and by their hiſtorian.

Juſt, St. Irenæus, and St. Sebaſtian, was the whole city in the days of Nero; when, in one night, all its opulence and elegance was reduced to aſhes[n]. The town was then built, ſays Seneca expreſsly, "upon one *hill*, and this not very lofty[o];" he conſidering theſe ſeveral eminences very naturally as one hill, and being much miſtaken (as we have ſeen before) about the loftineſs of it. Upon Mount Fourviere, particularly, have been found rooms floored with Moſaic, and incruſted on the walls with antique marble, that was *inlaid* with pieces of jaſper, of PORCELAIN, and of ſerpentine. Lumps of metal, and lamps of bronze, have been found there half-calcined by the violence of the heat. Even bricks have been diſcovered conſumed in part by it, beams of timber burnt, and cinders compacted together like the droſs of metals from a furnace. What is very remarkable, the PORCELAIN was as lively and as fine as *that of China*; and ſo ſhews this elegant ſpecies of earthen-ware, which is now ſo much a favourite at our tables, to have been known in theſe weſtern parts of Europe, for ages before it was introduced by the Cape of Good Hope; the ware having been previouſly introduced over land by the Romans, and thus becoming ſo common

[n] Seneca, epiſt. 91. "Una nox fuit inter urbem maximam "et nullam." Hiſtoire i. 156-157.

[o] Seneca, ibid. "Uni impoſita, et huic non altiſſimo, "monti." Hiſtoire ibid.

among

among them even in Gaule, as to be actually uſed in a kind of grotto-work upon the walls of their houſes at Lyons[F].

But,

[F] Hiſtoire i. 149-152, 44-45, and 44, "de morceaux d'une "porcelaine, auſſi brillante et auſſi fine que de la Chine." This diſcovery of porcelain in the Roman houſes at Lyons, aſcertains the *Vaſa Murrhina* of the Romans to be what Salmaſius averred them to be, the Porcelain of the Eaſt. "Eadem "victoria," ſays Pliny, xxxvii. 2, concerning Pompey's over Pontus, &c. "primùm in urbem *Murrhina* induxit, primuſque "Pompeius *ſex pocula* ex eo triumpho Capitolino Jovi dicavit; "quæ protinus ad *hominum uſum* tranſiêre, abacis *eſcariiſque* "*vaſis* inde expetitis, *excreſcitque indies ejus rei luxus*.—Oriens "*Murrhina* mittit; inveniuntur enim ibi in *pluribus* locis, nec "inſignibus, *maximè Parthici regni*, præcipuè tamen *in Carmaniâ*," though now in China and its vicinity only: "humorem putant ſub terrâ calore denſari," juſt as the materials of it were once ſuppoſed among ourſelves, to lie maturing in the earth for a hundred years. "*Murrhina* et chryſtallina," adds Pliny, xxxiii. *procmium* "ex eâdem terrâ effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipſa fragilitas." Auguſtus, "cum, et "Alexandriâ captâ, nihil ſibi præter unum *Murrhinum* calicem "ex inſtrumento regio retinuerit," &c. (Suetonius, 71). The French name of *porcelain*, by which we and the French know the half-baked and half-vitrified ware of China now, is derived from the Roman ware, I apprehend, and from the provincial appellation for it among the Romans. The plant *portulaca* is called in French *pourpier* or *porcelaine*, and, derivatively from the French, *purſlain* in Engliſh, from its purple colour; a little ſhellfiſh is called in Engliſh *purple*, in French *pourpre* or *porcelaine*; and, what brings all to a point at once, the china-ware of Rome was coloured only with *purple*. "Splendor his fine viribus," notes Pliny very characteriſti-

But, what is ſtill more remarkable, among cinders deep in the earth have been dug up more than two hundred weight of lead, the evident remains of thoſe *leaden pipes*, which once ſerved to diſtribute the waters of the aqueduct through all parts of the town, and particularly to the imperial palace. Among theſe fragments was one ſo prodigious in bulk, as to be capable of carrying even twenty inches of water. This was the main pipe, and divided into four branches much inferior in bulk, being only four inches in diameter. The knob, formed at the diviſion, had reſiſted that vehemence of the fire which had conſumed the reſt of this pipe, and ſo ſaved in part the branches iſſuing from it. Upon ſome of the fragments, a liqueſaction is actually viſible to this day; and upon ſome are inſcriptions in very large letters, *Jul. Paul. Lug. Fac.* and *L. Tertinius F.* But under

cally, xxxviii. 2, " nitorque veriùs quàm ſplendor; ſed in " pretio varietas colorum, ſubinde circumagentibus ſe maculis " in *purpuram* candoremque, et tertiam ex utrôque igneſcen- " tem, velut per tranſitum coloris *purpurâ* rubeſcente aut " lacte candeſcente." We thus explain a name with rationality, that has been hitherto explained with high folly; the three words, *pour cent années*, being moſt ridiculouſly ſuppoſed to have clubbed for the formation of the word *porcelain*. We alſo bring a confirmation, of the uſe of porcelain among the Romans. And we finally ſee the colouring of the Roman porcelain, not compoſed of that fine deep blue in broad *patches* upon the white, which is ſo much coveted in our own at preſent, but of purple and white in *ſpots*.

one

one houſe only, the ſite aſſuredly of a water-houſe, were found *twenty or thirty* pipes of lead, moſt of them from *fifteen* to *twenty* feet in *length*, and appearing to have been laid *for the peculiar uſe of the palace*; as they had theſe words ſtamped upon them, *Ti. Cl. Caeſ.* for Tiberius *Claudius* Cæſar, the certain layer of the pipes, and therefore the aſſured conſtructor of the aqueduct to which they belonged. All theſe are a full proof of the Roman acquaintance with that phyſical principle, of which they are univerſally ſuppoſed by the moderns to be wholly ignorant, the power of a current to riſe up as high as its fountain. We ſee them here uſing pipes of lead for the conveyance of a current, with the ſame readineſs of knowledge as the moderns themſelves. They, therefore, did not erect their grand arcades for aqueducts, from any ignorance of this obvious principle, as modern preſumption has flattered itſelf with believing; but from the eccentricity of pride, and the inſolence of vain-glory. Theſe relics, too, are an equal evidence of the fierceneſs of thoſe flames, which in one night deſtroyed a whole city, and of the vivid impreſſion, which the conflagration made upon the very ground itſelf. Even, on the hill of St. Sebaſtian were found in 1528 thoſe two plates of braſs, that bore the ſpeech of Claudius engraved upon them; that had been buried in the ruins of the building, within which they had been ſet up; and buried at the con-

conflagration, as they appear to have actually ſuffered from the fire [q].

Nor was the town, when it was rebuilt, removed to another ſite. It ſtill continued upon the "very populous" mountains of Hannibal. On the principal of them, Mount Fourviere, was a large *Forum* or Square, which nine centuries ago tradition invariably attributed to Trajan; which, in the language domeſticated among the Gauls by the Romans, and ſtill talked by the French, was denominated *Forum Vetus*, and thrown down by a hurricane in 840; but is noticed by authors of that very century, as a "memorable," a "ſingular," and a "venerable" pile of building [r]. On Mount Fourviere was found a fine altar in 1704, which proves itſelf by its own inſcription to have been erected, and ſacrifices upon it to have been offered up, "for the ſafety of Antoni-"nus Pius, his children, and the ſtate of the colony

[q] Hiſtoire i. 134, and Thickneſſe ii. 84.

[r] Breval in his Second Travels ii. 113, ſays of Father Colonia; "the Father informed me, that he had ſeen a braſs coin, "ſtruck at Lyons, with the head of Claudius, and the *Forum* "*Vetus*—on its reverſe." This was ſaid in 1738, and Colonia publiſhed his hiſtory in 1728. Yet Mr. Breval ſeems to know nothing of the latter; and, as Colonia in Hiſtoire i. 169-170 conſtantly attributes the *Forum Vetus* to Trajan, I believe Mr. Breval to have made a miſtake, referring what Colonia orally ſaid, in alluſion to what he has written, i. 171, concerning a coin of *Trajan*, to a coin of *Claudius*.

"of

" of Lyons[s]." But the reſidence of Severus in the palace of Antony there, confirms the whole; the very name of Severus having been found inſcribed under a baſs-relief, that muſt formerly have ſerved as one of the cornices of the palace; and the very palace itſelf having formerly borne the appellation, of Severus's[t].

— VI. —

THE firſt building indeed upon the *preſent* ſite of Lyons, the Iſland of Hannibal, ſo " fruitful

[s] Hiſtoire i. 185-186.

[t] Hiſtoire i. 269, and 152-153. " Le Palais Senatorien ou de " Severe." The French antiquaries, who agree in fixing the original Lyons upon the high grounds adjoining to the iſland, have differed concerning the particular poſition of it there. M. de Marca fixed it upon St. Sebaſtian's (Hiſtoire i. 266-268), but Colonia upon Mounts Fourviere and St. Juſt (i. 269). The latter adduces in proof of his poſition, all thoſe relics of the conflagration, which (he ſays) are found upon Mount Fourviere only, " qui ne ſe trouvent que ſur la montagne de Four- " viere et non pas ailleurs" (i. 272); where *his own arguments precludes his own Mount of St. Juſt.* The plates of braſs diſcovered on St. Sebaſtian's, he argues, prove not this hill to have had the town upon it; becauſe the plates *may* have been diſplaced in ſome revolution, from their original repoſitory in the temple; and the temples were ſometimes *without* the walls of a town (i. 274-275): when yet he is forced to acknowledge at laſt, that the town had *undoubtedly* begun before the fire, to *take poſſeſſion of this mountain* (i. 275 and 31). The plates of braſs indeed unite with the humble aqueduct, to ſhow the town and the town-hall at the time of the fire, exiſting upon the top of St. Sebaſtian's,

" in

"in corn," was a temple to Auguſtus, of which ſome ſplendid remains, four tall pillars of oriental granite, ſtill exiſt in the abbey of Aiſnay [n]. This was erected, in honour of him and of Rome conjointly; the debaſing ſottiſhneſs of mankind ſinking ſo low, as to deify a *human worm*, to raiſe a temple to this worm *yet living*, and to pray to the

[n] Hiſtoire i. 89-93. That theſe pillars are *oriental* granite, is plain from their ſuperiour beauty. To refer us therefore for their origin, to ſome ſuppoſed and aſſerted, but unuſed and unknown, quarries in the neighbourhood; as Colonia does, i. 93, and as Mr. Pownall does after him, p. 157; is very injudicious. To urge, that the Rhone could not bear a veſſel large enough for floating the granite up it, as Breval does in his Firſt Travels, i. 229, is hiſtorically unjuſt; becauſe we know a much ſhallower river, the Tiber, to have borne the greater obeliſks of Rome. *Thoſe* (I ſuppoſe) were brought, like *theſe*, from Egypt; and perhaps by Auguſtus, who brought one of thoſe. But, what confirms the Egyptian origin of thoſe, an actual obeliſk of oriental granite, like theſe at Rome, was found in the laſt century at Arles, on the mouth of this very river, and has been ſince erected in the town, like thoſe (Breval's Second Travels, ii. 181-184). Nor do the pillars at Lyons appear to have been cut out of two, as the hiſtorians of Lyons and Mr. Pownall unite to ſuppoſe. They are not the pillars repreſented on a coin of Auguſtus, with a view of an altar between them; as Auguſtus's are *two* and ours are *four*, and as the *two* have *capitals* and *baſes*, while *none* of the *four* has *either*. The latter circumſtance in all the four is evidently too regular, to be caſual; and demonſtrates the four to be as different from the two in reality, as they are in number. They were originally four, no doubt, as they are now; and originally ſupported the temple, exactly as they now ſupport the church.

image

image of this living worm for the bleſſings of Heaven; but Auguſtus having the modeſty to refuſe the prayers, the temple, and the deification, not abſolutely and for ever, but *only* while he was alive, and only then *unleſs* the *perſonification* of Rome, a mere figure of rhetoric, received them equally with him. Such was the ſly humility of the man, and ſuch the petty artifice that could then impoſe upon the world! But indeed the whole ſyſtem of Heathen theology, as far as it is purely Heathen, is ſo groſsly pregnant with abſurdity, and comes forward with ſuch a vaſt protuberance of folly; that the eye of the enlightened Chriſtian ſtares with amazement at its appearance, that the common ſenſe of a Chriſtian peaſant is ſhocked with the view of it, and even the finger of ſimpleneſs is pointed at it with a juſt diſdain. The temple was erected by a combination of ſixty tribes of Gauls, that carried on a commerce with Lyons. "The temple," as Strabo explicitly informs us, "was decreed by all the Gauls in ge-
"neral to Cæſar Auguſtus, *at the union of the*
"*rivers*; in which there is an altar worthy of
"particular notice, as having upon it an inſcrip-
"tion of tribes, ſixty in number, and there are
"the images of them, an image for each; with
"another great altar," inſcribed (I ſuppoſe) to Auguſtus[v]. Such a large portion of Gaule had

[v] Strabo, iv. 292. Το τε ἱερον το αναδεχθεν υπο παντων κοινη των Γαλατων, Καισαρι τω Σεβαστω---επι τη συμβολη των ποταμων· εστι δε Βωμος αξιολογος, επιγραφην εχων των εθνων ἑ των αριθμον, και εικονες τουτων, εκαστου μια, και αλλος μεγας.

united

united in the erection of this temple, that it was considered as the common fabrication of all the country. In it was one great altar, bearing upon it sixty statues; each standing as the visible and tutelary representative, of each tribe that united in the erection; and each having an inscription, which indicated the name of the tribe represented by it. But there was also another altar, equally a large one, that was designed for sacrifices to be offered upon it, to the *Human* and *Living* Deity of the temple. So large and extensive a trade did Lyons possess, even at that early period.

But this was plainly possessed by it in a lesser degree, before the Romans settled within it, and indeed as early as the days of Hannibal. When he came to the Rhone opposite to Lauriol in Dauphiny, he found a number of vessels upon the river; some of them the first and natural ships of mankind, canoes hollowed out of a single tree; others, larger boats artificially constructed. "Many of those who inhabited the banks of the "Rhone," says Polybius, "used to carry on a "traffic in them, and even *venture out to sea with* "*them.*" All these Hannibal hired, for his passage across the river [w]. So early did Commerce begin

[w] Polybius, iii. 42. Εξηγορασε παρ' αυτων τα τε μονοξυλα πλοια παντα, και τους λεμβους οντας ικανους τῳ πληθει, δια το ταις εκ της θαλαττης εμπορειαις πολλους χρησθαι των παροικουντων τον Ροδανον. "He

begin to take her courſe, upon the uſeful current of the Rhone! Lyons naturally became from its ſituation, what from its ſituation it has remained ever ſince, the great ſtaple of the whole. It was *this*, no doubt, which drew down the town from its airy poſition on the hills above, to the immediate banks of the Saone and the Rhone below. But the removal was ſo gradual, that hiſtory has not noticed it particularly. The eye could not mark at the moment, the advance of the ſhade upon the dial. It could only ſee afterwards, that it had advanced; and the grand addition that was made to the commerce of Lyons, immediately after the reduction of the country by the Romans, was the original cauſe of all.

As early as the death of Cæſar, we are informed by the ſpeech of Antony upon it; that "now "Gaule is indeed enſlaved,—and is all cultivated "like Italy itſelf;" and that "not merely the "*Rhone* is yet navigated, or the *Saone*, but alſo "the Moſelle, the Loire, the very Rhine, and "the very Ocean[x]." With this augmentation of

"He prevailed upon them to *fill* to him all their canoes and "boats, the number of which was *very* great; for *almoſt all*," many of, "the people that dwell on the Rhone are employed "in *conſtant* commerce upon the ſea." i. 340.

[x] Dion Caſſius xliv. 42. p. 409. Νυν δεδουλωται μεν Γαλατια,—και γεωργειται πασα, ωσπερ αυτη η Ιταλια· πλειται δε ου Ροδανος ετι μονος, ουδ' Αραρις, αλλα και Μοσας, και Λιγηρις, και Ρηνος αυτος, και Ωκεανος αυτος.

the

the general trade of France, no leſs than ſixty of the tribes about Lyons became engaged and intereſted in it. Theſe repaired continually to Lyons, as the great center of commerce to them all. They thus laid the foundations of the *preſent* city, in a temple for their general uſe, at the immediate confluence of the two rivers, and on the immediate ſcene of their commercial operations; a grand mart or fair, I ſuppoſe, being annually held upon the iſland then, and this ſpeedily producing a new town. We are accordingly told by Dio, that Druſus "aſſembled the principal perſons among "the Gauls, under pretence of keeping *the feſtivity*, "*which is even now kept at Lyons, about the altar of* "*Auguſtus*;" which was accompanied with the games, that are generally exhibited, though in a much lower ſtyle, at our fairs, and with literary conteſts much more exalted, than the rival ballad-ſingings at ours[y]. We are alſo informed by Strabo, who wrote in the immediately ſucceeding reign of Tiberius; that "the Romans inhabit the town

[y] Dio, liv. 762. Τους πρωτους αυτου, προφασει της εορτης, ην και νυν περι τον του Αουγουστου Βωμον εν Λουγδουνῳ τελουσι, μεταπεμψαμενος. Caligula "edidit---ludos---in Galliâ Lugduni miſcellos, ſed et "certamen quoque Græcæ Latinæque facundiæ" (Suetonius, 20); and Juvenal,

Aut Lugdunenſem Rhetor dicturus ad aram.

In Hiſtoire i. 88, is an inſcription, "Sacerdos Romæ et "Aug. ad *aram* ad confluentes Araris et Rhodani Famen;" in 94, "Functo Sacer. ad *templum* Romæ et Augg." and in 95, "Sacerdoti ad *templum* Romæ et Auguſtorum."

"Lug-

" Lugdunum, which is built *under* a hill, at the " union of the river Arar and the Rhone;" and that the temple " is erected *in the front of the* " *town*," the houſes all looking towards it[2]. The *commercial* town of Lyons was thus built and thus inhabited, by thoſe whom Strabo calls exclusively Romans, thoſe alone who were engaged in commerce, and who, with ſome Gauls among them, appear from this appellation to have been principally Romans; while the *elegant*, the *dignified*, the *principal* town, as we have ſufficiently ſeen already, ſtill retained the ſoldiery, the gentry, the magiſtrates, and the emperours within it.

The lower town however increaſed, as the commerce advanced; and the conflagration of the higher in the days of Nero, would ſerve additionally to increaſe it. We particularly find the Town-hall, which was fixed at the time of the conflagration upon the hill of St. Sebaſtian, and there was burnt down with the two plates of braſs within it, to have been never rebuilt upon its ancient ſite, as the plates were left buried in the ruins for fourteen centuries afterward; the commercial men, who had naturally dwelt around

[2] Strabo, iv. 292. Το Λουγδουνον, εκλιπτειν υπο λοφῳ καθα την συμβολην του τε Αραρος ποταμου και του Ροδανου, καθεχουσι Ρωμαιοι, and το ιερον—προ ταυτης ιδρυται της πολεως. The word υπο, under, is ſometimes read επι, upon; but in direct contradiction to the whole paſſage, to the mention of the temple particularly.

their hall, now migrating in all probability to the iſland, leaving all St. Sebaſtian's in its reduced ſtate of deſolation, and building a new hall for themſelves in the new town. This ſoon ſpread acroſs the plane of the iſland. A temple was erected to *Antoninus Pius*, on the northern extremity of the iſle, near the baſe of Polybius's Delta, and at the very foot of Mount Fourviere; even upon the ground of St. John's church there[a]. Another temple was erected upon the ſame ſide of the iſland, and at the Place of St. Pierre, to the Goddeſs Veſta[b]. We have even a rare inſtance of a kind of modern hoſpital, conſtructed by a private Roman upon the weſtern ſide of the iſland: an inſcribed ſtone at the corner of the ſquare of Louis the Great, and near the wooden bridge over the Saone, hinting at the commercial ſpirit of the inhabitants, and *the number of medical gentlemen*, around; then offering a lodging to all comers, but ſuggeſting the neceſſity of their bringing their dinners with them[c]. The remains of a fourth *temple* probably, and of a Roman

[a] Hiſtoire i. 179. [b] Ibid. 276.

[c] Hiſtoire i. 236. "Mercurius hic lucrum promittit, Apollo "ſalutem, Septumanus hoſpitium; cum prandio qui venerit, "meliùs utetur; poſt, hoſpes, ubi maneas proſpice." Ibid. i. 168. "Ce que---Galien [Galen]---dit du Medecin Abaſ-"cantus, qui ſe diſtinguoit à Lyon par ſa habileté, nous fait "voir, que la medecine, qui y eſt aujourdhui ſi floriſſante, y etoit déja fort cultivée dès ce temps-la."

building

building certainly, were equally diſcovered at the foot of Mount Fourviere in 1666; the labourers coming to the face of a wall, that was *wainſcotted* with *inlaid work*; and laying open a curious floor of Moſaic, that bore the figures of a Female Hermes, a Cupid, a Satyr, and a Silvanus upon it, and ſo proved itſelf to be as early as the times of heatheniſm [d]. All theſe buildings unite with Strabo to prove, that the commencement of a town upon Hannibal's iſland was not till the days of the Roman empire, was then in the earlieſt of thoſe days, and the reſult of the greater commerce which then ſettled there; and go on to prove by themſelves, that, even in the days of the Romans, the whole iſland was inhabited laxely, from the very *vertex* of the Delta on the ſouth, to the baſe and the mountains on the north.

Yet the new town continued ſtill to gain upon the old, and even after the Romans had ceaſed to be the lords of the country. The principle of commerce, which operated ſo powerfully before, continued its activities ſtill. The church of the Holy Croſs was built upon the banks of the Saone, before 611 [e]. The churches of St. Paul and St. George were built on the ſame banks, in the

[d] Hiſtoire i. 237-239. "Un pan de muraille, qui etoit re-"vêtu de pieces de rapport."

[e] Hiſtoire i. (partie ſeconde) 340, and ii. 51.

century preceding [f]; and the adjoining church of St. Etienne was, in the century before that [g]. Religion thus ſupplies hiſtory with marked dates, in the ſeveral periods of its ſacred erections. Even *the ſovereigns of the Burgundian Vandals* fixed their reſidence on the iſland, in the ſixth century; and the church of St. Etienne became their chapel-royal [h]. Elegance and faſhion would then co-operate with commerce, to invite the old town from its height. Under the attraction of all, the laſt and lingering inhabitants of it deſerted the hills, and deſcended to the plain. Then aſſuredly was the canal dug, that we have ſeen running along the foot of the hills from the Saone to the Rhone, and that was not there (we are ſure) in the days of Hannibal or Polybius; to guard againſt any invaſion from the only acceſſible quarter of the iſland, to preclude any deſcent upon the town from the defenceleſs and deſolated hills above. And the ſquare of Trajan, left expoſed to the weather for two or three centuries, therefore called *Forum Vetus*, *Fourvieil*, or *Fourviere*, and ſo giving name to the mountain; in 840 was thrown down from end to end by a ſtorm, and cloſed the final hiſtory of Hannibal's

[f] Hiſtoire i (part. ſeconde) 339-340, and 133.
[g] Hiſtoire ii. 55.
[h] Hiſtoire i (pt. 2de) 340, and ii. 58-59.

town.

town [i]. This has been almoſt a ſolitude ever ſince, having only a few houſes ſcattered over the range of theſe hills, and two or three monaſteries extending their gardens along the ſite of the antient town; while the town on the iſland has been obliged by the narrowneſs of its ground, pent in as it is between the hills and the rivers, to uſurp upon the line of the canal, to fill it up with earth, and to cover it with buildings; even to raiſe the houſes enormouſly high, like our own Edinborough, and ſo to pile one city (as it were) upon the head of another,

Imponere Pelio Oſſam [k].

—VII.—

Hiſtoire i. 173-174. Our Engliſh name of Lyons, like the French name of Londres, is derived from the exiſtence of theſe two towns together, like thoſe of London and Southwark. How falſely then does D'Anville aſſert, that "ce qui fait aujourd'hui la plus conſiderable partie de Lion entre la Saone "et le Rhone, *n'a commencé à ſe remplir* que ſous le regne de "*Louis* XII. et de *François* I" (423-424); when it began ſo many ages before, and when it had laxely covered the whole iſland in the days of the Romans.

[k] I cannot leave this fine town without noticing, that it furniſhes *three* inſtances of ſuch honour paid to *Conjugal* Love, as is rare to be found in the world. One gentleman has ſolemnly regiſtered upon the graveſtone of his wife, that "She "lived with him 42 years *without one blot*," "Quæ cum eo "vixit annis xlii. *ſine ullâ maculâ*" (Hiſtoire i. 50). A ſecond has recorded his wife, as "a moſt extraordinary example of "goodneſs, and very loving of me, who lived with me 23 "years 15 days *without offending me once*;" "conjugi rariſſimi "exempli

— VII. —

I HAVE entered into all this double hiſtory of Lyons, in order to remove the obſtructions in my march with Hannibal, which the miſ-directed vigour of oppoſition, and the over-active officiouſneſs of zeal, have equally contributed to raiſe in my way. This was the firſt ſtage in the route of

" exempli meique amantiſſ. quai vix. mecum anno xxiii. " d. xv, *ſine ullâ animi læſione*" (Hiſtoire i. 83). Theſe are as remarkable, as they are pleaſing; but the third is ſtill ſtronger and fuller. Another gentleman dedicates a monument " to the Virtuous Memory and the Eternal Hope, alſo " to the Incomparable Spirit, of Felicia Mina, a woman who " was an example of the moſt extraordinary chaſtity, and the " fulleſt affection towards all mankind,—his incomparable " wife, who lived with him 32 years 5 months 4 days *without* " *one quarrel*;" " Bonæ Memoriæ et Spei æternæ, Spiritu quo- " que Incomparabili, Feliciæ Minæ, feminæ rariſſimæ caſtitatis, " exempli affectionis pleniſſimæ erga omnes homines,—Con- " jugi Incomparabili, quæ vixit annos xxxii. menſ. v. dies iii. " *ſine ullâ querelâ*" (Hiſtoire i. 103-104). Such inſtances of worth in the wife, and of gratitude in the huſband, ought to be well known for the honour of matrimonial affection. There is ſomething peculiarly tender, too, in the huſband's recording the very months, and even the very days, during which he had been happy in her love. The concluding touch particularly, of having lived 23 years, even 32, and even 42, *without one blot*, or *one quarrel*, or *once offending her huſband*, carries the love to its full point of amiable perfection. Thoſe men who are good huſbands, and feel themſelves happy in being ſuch, will peculiarly admire theſe epitaphs, as what ſerve for mirrours to their own conduct,

And give them back the image of their minds.

Hannibal,

Hannibal, which wanted to be particularly aſcertained; and to aſcertain it completely, was requiſite to all the future certainty of my movements. The ground about Lyons, too, is now ſo different from what it was in the days of Hannibal, that a double train of proofs became neceſſary to aſcertain its identity. I was obliged, not merely to ſhew the town exiſting originally upon the ſummit of the hills, but alſo to mark how and when it came to ſhift its ſituation, and to be where it now is upon the iſland. I have thus, I believe, thrown ſuch a clear ſun-ſhine of hiſtory upon the point, as no miſtakes can veil, and no wilfulneſs can darken, for ever again.

At the period of Hannibal's arrival then, Lyons ſtood frowning from its ſteep, lofty, and almoſt inacceſſible hills, the capital of a nation, and "very populous" in itſelf; while the iſland under it on the ſouth, the preſent ſite of Lyons, lay all uninhabited, but well cultivated, and "fruitful in corn[1]." But the town was in a high ferment

[1] From this fertility in corn, characteriſtic of that and all the land adjoining, the town was actually called by the Romans "Colonia Claudia *Copia* Auguſta Lugdunum." This name, ſays M. de Marca, denoted "la grande fertilité du pais." And, as Father Colonia adds, "par ce nom extraordinaire de *Copia*, on voulut faire alluſion à la Deeſſe de l'abondance ou des moiſſons, qui faiſoit un des grands objets du culte de tout ce pais, auquel même elle avoit donné ſon

ferment of ſedition at the time. Brancus was the king of the Seguſiani, and had his palace within it. He had however a younger brother, who was too ambitious to be any longer a ſubject, had become too popular not to make a grand ſtruggle for the crown, and had drawn all the lower rank of people to his ſide. The government of the Seguſiani ſeems to have been, like the *late*, the *preſent* government of the Poles, not indeed elective, but at once republican and regal. They are ſaid expreſsly by Pliny, to have been "a FREE nation;" with that abuſe of language, which is too prevalent among ourſelves, and which even the *imperial* Romans, in conſequence of their hereditary inclination for republicaniſm, could not refrain from practiſing [m]. They had

"ſon nom" of Seguſiana. "Cette Deeſſe s'appelloit *Segetia* "ou *Segeſta*. C'eſt un terme Celtique, que les Romains adop- "terent, et qui ſelon Pline, et ſelon Auguſtin (De Civ. Dei, "lib. iv. c. 8), a donné le nom à la moiſſon, nommé en La- "tin *Seges*. On voit encore à Lyon un *bas-relief antique*, dans "lequel *cette Divinité eſt repreſentée avec une corne d'abondance* "*à la main*; et *c'eſt avec la même attitude*, que *le Genie de* "*Lyon eſt repreſentée dans un medaille d'Albin*" (Hiſtoire i. 128-130.)

[m] Pliny iv. 18. "Seculiani liberi." D'Anville aſſerts them to be called *free*, becauſe they were no longer ſubject to the Œdui: "les Seguſiani, apres avoir eté *clientes OEduorum*, ſont "enſuite qualifiés de *liberi*" (p. 423). But this is plainly an errour, as the Seguſiani are, *after the days of Pliny*, ſtill put down for ſubjects to the Œdui; Ptolemy reckoning for one of the Œduan towns, this very city of Lyons (ii. 8. p. 52).

allo

alſo a ſenate and nobles; *that*, an argument of the republican tendency of their government, a tendency very prevalent even then in the ſouth of France; and *theſe* a proof of its tendency to the wiſeſt ſort of a republic, a republic of gradations and orders, ſuch alone as was then eſtabliſhed in any part of France; the inhabitants of that country having not yet mounted up into all the lunacies of liberty, and not yet aſpiring to make the human animal walk upon his head, ſprawl with his legs in the air, and rear his rump againſt the ſky. They were however curſed, as the Romans had been before, and as the Poles have been ſince, with that uniform attendant upon popular governments, the diſtractions of diſſenſion. The great maſs of mankind, however we may flatter *them* and impoſe upon *ourſelves* by fantaſtical theories, are calculated only to obey. They are no more qualified to direct in ſtates, than our ſervants are to dictate in families. Theſe pretendedly *free* ſocieties, therefore, are generally ſubjected to the moſt degrading of all tyrannies, the tyranny of the mob. This we ſee diſplayed in all its fulleſt horrours, within the region of France at preſent: where the mob-cry of liberty has been more ſavage in its tones, than the Indian yell of murder; where the politeſt nation of Europe has been transformed by it, into a horde of the bloodieſt barbarians; and where the mob itſelf has come forward, with ten thouſand furies

accompanying

accompanying it, to maſſacre the nobles, the clergy, the monarch, and his queen. But it had been diſplayed in colours leſs glowing and glaring, among the Seguſiani of France before. Incapable of diſtinguiſhing in their intellects, and acceſſible to every ſolicitation of cunning in their paſſions, the commonalty of Lyons all took part now with the ambitious brother, and all broke out into a rebellion with him, againſt the king, the ſenate, and the nobles; a rebellion ſomewhat like that in our own country once, of clowns againſt their maſters, or more like that of Paris lately, of ſhop-keepers againſt their cuſtomers, of *Sans-culottes* againſt gentlemen. Government, we know, is all founded upon opinion. It is the power of the few over the many, weak in itſelf, and firm only from a principle of obedience in the ſubjects. And, whenever the many chuſe to violate this principle, burſt away from the ſubordination in which they are placed by Providence, and ſo deſtroy the ſyſtematic harmony of the whole; they have the capacity of doing ſo in their own hands, juſt as an individual has the capacity of lifting his arm againſt his life.

This rebellion ſeems to have been, as all rebellions of the mob are, equally ſudden and violent. The royal palace ſtood probably where the imperial was afterwards, upon Mount Fourviere; and the king eſcaped from it with precipitation. He did not

not retire into the open country, where he might be joined by his obedient ſubjects, and whence he might return to cruſh the rebellion of the populace in his capital. But he fled down the ſide of Mount Fourviere, into the iſland below. There he was incloſed by the rivers as in a pound, and muſt ſoon have been ſeized by the hands ſo rudely raiſed againſt him. Yet he appears to have been poſſeſſed of the navigation of the rivers, his party was thus probably becoming ſtrong in the iſland, and the uſurping brother deſcended at the head of his new ſubjects to deſtroy it. The corn was now carried off from the fields of the iſland, as the month of October had commenced [n]. The two armies ſtood oppoſed to each other, upon them; when, as if by inchantment, a large army appeared ſuddenly on the eaſtern bank of the Rhone, marching in regular order, and tending up the current. The oppoſed hoſts probably ſtood ſuſpended in their hoſtility, at the ſight; engaged in attention to this third hoſt, that was ſo ſtrangely iſſuing from the clouds of the horizon; and engaging the attention of this hoſt themſelves, as it gained a nearer and a nearer view of them. Such a ſight as this would carry all the appearance of a magic ſcene, even in thoſe times of military movements; when the golden chain of property did not yet bind man to the

[n] See vol. ii. chap. i. ſect. iv. hereafter.

ſoil, on which he was ſettled; when the land loſt by migration from one country, was eaſily recovered by the invaſion of another; when property was thus hung upon the iron chain, that girt the ſword to the body; and when armies were frequently ranging, over the face of the earth. But this new army would ſoon be known to be Hannibal's Carthaginians. The king applied to him, for his aſſiſtance againſt the rebels; and Hannibal aſſented to the overture.

He thus did, what in his haſte of avoiding the Romans was very imprudent to be done. Had Scipio indeed been wiſe enough to follow the Carthaginians to Lyons, when he found on his arrival at the point of paſſage over the Rhone, that they had marched away three days before towards it; the march of Hannibal muſt have ſeemed like a flight, the Gauls would have been ready to ſtop and attack him as one flying, and he would particularly have ſuffered for his preſent halt, in the defeat of his whole plan. The haſtineſs of all his march up to Lyons, ſhews him not to have known of Scipio's return to Italy by ſea [o]. But he was drawn into the meaſure by thoſe principles, on which every general muſt venture to act at times; his hope that Scipio would not preſume to follow him, his confidence

[o] Polybius iii. 49. and Livy xxi. 32.

in

in the advance which he had gained upon him, and his perception of the good which would reſult from his interference. He joined the king with a party of his army, for the conveyance of which over the Rhone into the iſland, the king muſt have furniſhed the neceſſary tranſports; leaving the reſt encamped upon the bank with the baggage, and ſo ſecuring his return acroſs the Rhone again. With his own men and the king's, he attacked the rebels, defeated their army, diſlodged them equally from the iſland and the capital, and put a complete end to the whole rebellion [p].

[p] Livy xxi. 31. "Regni certamine ambigebant Fratres: "Major, et qui priùs imperitârat, Brancus nomine, minore "ab fratre et cœtu juniorum, qui jure minus, vi plus, pote- "rant, pellebatur. Hujus ſeditionis per-opportuna diſcep- "tatio quum ad Hannibalem rejecta eſſet, arbiter regni factus, "quòd ea ſenatûs principumque ſententia fuerat, imperium "majori reſtituit." Polybius iii. 49. Προς ΗΝ, the iſland, αφικομενος, και καλαλαβων εν ΑΥΤΗ δυο αδελφους υπερ της βασιλειας στασιαζοντας, και ΜΕΤΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΙΣ, επισπωμενος τε Πρισβυτερου, και παρακαλουντος, εις το συμπραξαι, και συμ-πεισποιησαι την αρχην αυτων [αυτῳ], αυτῳ υπηκουσε·—διο και συν-επιθεμενος, και συν-εκβαλων τον ἑτερον, κ. τ. λ. "It happened that at this time there were two brothers *in* "*arms* againſt each other, *contending for the ſovereignty of the* "*place*. The eldeſt of them had recourſe to the Carthagi- "nians, and *implored* their aid to *ſecure* him *the poſſeſſion of his* "*rights*. Hannibal embraced the occaſion *with no ſmall* joy. "—Having joined his forces therefore with this prince "[prince's], he *defeated* and drove out the younger brother" (i. 354). More reſponſively to the original, the verſion ſhould run thus: "he came to the iſland, and found in it two brothers

"*engaged*

" *engaged in a civil war for the ſovereignty*, and *facing each* " *other with oppoſed armies*; he was *invited* and *ſolicited* by the " elder, *to confederate with him*, and *with him to vindicate the* " *ſovereignty to him*; Hannibal *aſſented*; wherefore he alſo, in " concert with him, *attacked* and diſlodged the other." This account in Polybius is as regular and judicious, as that in Livy is awkward and abſurd. Yet Livy ſupplies ſome notices, that Polybius omits.

The town of Lyons continued for a long time, to be called ſometimes Lugudunum, ſometimes Lugdunum, and ſometimes both by the ſame perſon. Though called Lugdunum in Plancus's epitaph, it is called Lugudunum in Antony's coins, the firſt that are known to have been ſtruck here, bearing thoſe preſent arms of Lyons upon them, which ſeem in the preſent pronunciation of the town's name to be a mere *pun*, but are only the revival of Antony's device, a Lion (Hiſtoire i. 40, Breval's Firſt Travels i. 229, Second ii. 113, and Thickneſſe ii. 91); in the inſcription upon the altar of Antoninus Pius (Hiſtoire i. 186); and on other monuments (Hiſtoire i. 289, ii. 186, and Breval's Firſt Travels 237-246). It is even denominated Lugudun and Lugdun, in one and the ſame inſcription at Rome (Breval 228). From the date of the altar, which is 160 after Chriſt (Hiſtoire i. 185); and from the aſſertion of Dio, that Lyons, which had been formerly called Lugudunum, was *in his time* denominated Lugdunum; the name appears to have not been *generally* pronounced Lugdunum only, till the end of the ſecond century. So much leſs reaſon than ever had Menetrier, for his *Roman* town of Lugdunum, in oppoſition to his *Rhodian* of Lugudunum! And ſuch is often the lambent flame of antiquarianiſm, that is at once bright and powerleſs, ſtrikes upon the fancy, but reaches not the underſtanding,

Plays round the head, but comes not to the *brain!*

——— Lugudunum or Lugdunum too does not mean, as Plutarch from Clitopho and an alledged fact interprets it, the Hill of Ravens (Hiſtoire i. 18, and Breval 226); but, as our own name of *Lug* for a river, and the ſame appellation of Lugudunum

gudunum or Lugdunum for Leyden in Holland (Breval 21), unite to ſhew, it means the River Town. *Loch*, a lough, lake, or ſea, in Iriſh, properly ſignifies *water*, as Lock-aſairn is a ſhower of rain; and forms *Luig* in the genitive caſe. Even *Lug* actually ſignifies *a river*, in the Gallic (Bullet's Dictionnaire Celtique).—Nor was the iſland named *Athanatus* or *Athanacus*, as has been concluded by ſome writers (Hiſtoire ii. 20, and Breval 228), from an *Athenæum* or School upon it. No Athenæum appears to have been ever there. Nor was it denonated, as Father Colonia ſuppoſes, from the Greek word Αθανατος applied to the martyrs of Lyons here buried, and expreſſive of their immortality (ii. 19-20); becauſe the name covered the whole iſland, becauſe a Greek name is evidently improper for a Roman-Gallic place, and becauſe, as the martyrs ſuffered in the amphitheater on the hill of St. Sebaſtian, ſo their aſhes were not buried at all, but thrown into the Rhone (i. 280-281). Like our own iſle of *Thanet*, which is called *Athanatos* by Solinus xxii, and the Gallic town of *Tanetum* on the Po (Livy xxi. 25); it derived its appellation from the Celtic word *Tan*, ſtill retained in the Iriſh and Erſe for a region, and lengthened probably in the diminutive into *Tan-et* for a little region.—Nor was the iſland ever called *Cannabis*, as Breval i. 228 from an inſcription thinks it was. The words of the inſcription are theſe: "Vinario Lugudun. in *Cannabis* "conſiſtent." The wine-merchants of Lyons are alſo ſpecified in another inſcription (Hiſtoire i. 100). But as the iſland was called Athanatus, and therefore is now denominated Aiſnay; ſo Cannabis is plainly ſome other part of Lyons, probably one of the hills of the original town, as the Celtic name concurs with the hiſtory to ſuggeſt, and perhaps the very hill of St. Sebaſtian. *Ceann* in Iriſh is a head, *Ceann-tor* a headland, *Ceannanas* Kells in Ireland, and *Ceannſaile* Kinſale.—Theſe indeed are trifles to be ſettled. But half the learning of mankind is made up of ſuch trifles. And to remove the rubbiſh which impedes or deforms a building, is as much the buſineſs of an architect; as to lay his courſes of ſtone, and to erect his edifice.

Let

Let me however relieve the dryneſs of theſe petty diſquiſitions, by one ſhort notice that will go to the heart of all our Chriſtian feelings. In this region of conjugal epitaphs, one huſband records his wife to have lived with him twenty-five years, nine months, five days, and "by being too pious to "have become impious." In this manner does he unconſciouſly regiſter her for a profeſſor of that Chriſtianity, which was ſoon to eſtabliſh itſelf on the ruins of Heatheniſm, and to fix even one of its epiſcopal thrones at this very city of Lyons! "D. M. "et Memoriæ Æternæ," he ſays, "Sutiæ Anthidis," a name, that ſhews the bearer to have been of Grecian origin, perhaps from Marſeilles, perhaps from the ſouth of Italy, perhaps from the Eaſt immediately, "quæ vixit annis xxv, men. ix, d. "v. *Quæ dum ninnia pia fuit facta eſt impia*" (Hiſtoire i. 264). So did human folly preſume to cenſure that as impiety, which was calculated to fan the dying embers of piety in the world, to blow them into a ſtrong blaze, and to fling the glorious ſplendours of it over earth and heaven! Yet, ſuch is the legacy of folly left by Heatheniſm to the world, I remember to have met with this very expreſſion, without knowing from whence it was derived, applied even by a *Chriſtian* pen to the devoutneſs and religiouſneſs of a *Chriſtian* perſon. A Heathen woman, by becoming Chriſtian, *might* ſeem to the ignorance of a Heathen to be rebelling againſt God, in deſerting the common deities of Heatheniſm; but a Chriſtian, by no rigours of Chriſtianity, could poſſibly become, in reality or in appearance, a rebel to God. Chriſtians, to their ſhame, borrow weapons from Heathens at times, to encounter the ſtrictneſſes of their own religion.

CHAP-

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

I.

HANNIBAL having thus reſtored Brancus to his throne, the monarch manifeſted his gratitude by his kindneſs. He ſupplied the Carthaginians with corn, and with other proviſions, in abundance. He replaced all their old and broken weapons, with weapons new and ſtrong. He furniſhed the greateſt part of them with new clothes, to guard their bodies againſt the cold of the Alps. He even provided them with new ſhoes, to ſecure their feet from the rough roads of the Alps. He thus, by a gratitude as ſeaſonable to the Carthaginians as it was honourable to himſelf, gave a new face and form to their whole army. But what ſhewed his gratitude more livelily than all the reſt, becauſe of the trouble and toil which it gave him, and of the high encouragement which it lent by his abſence, to the juſt-ſubdued populace of his capital; he reſolved to attend Hannibal in perſon, and with a detachment of his own ſoldiery, a conſiderable way towards the Alps; and to do

him all the service which he could, among the tribes of his countrymen upon the road [a].

Thus

[a] Livy, xxi. 32. "Ob id meritum, commeatu copiâque "rerum omnium, maximè vestis, est adjutus; quam infames "frigoribus Alpes præparari cogebant." Polybius, iii. 49. Ου—μονον σιτῳ και αλλοις επιτηδειοις αφθονως εχωρηγησε το στρατοπεδον· αλλα και των οπλων τα παλαια και τα πεπονηκοτα παντα διαλλαξας, εκαινοποιησε πασαν την δυναμιν ευκαιρως. ετι δε τους πλειστους εσθητι και προς τουτοις υποδεσει, κοσμησας, μεγαλην ευχρηστιαν παρειχετο προς τας των ορων υπερβολας, το δε μεγιστον, ευλαβως διακειμενοις—απουραγησας μετα της σφετερας δυναμεως, κ. τ. λ. "He not only supplied the "troops with corn and other necessaries, in large abundance; "but exchanged likewise all their arms, that were impaired "and worn by use, for others that were sound and new." He thus, as the translator has strangely forgot to add, *seasonably gave a new face to the whole army*, εκαινοποιησε πασαν την δυναμιν ευκαιρως; but Mr. Hampton most negligently omits the principal clause in the whole sentence. "He furnished *great* part," *the greatest part*, "of the soldiers also with new *habits*," clothes, "and especially with shoes, which were of singular service to "them, in their march afterwards across the mountains. But "the chief advantage was, that he attended with *all* his forces;" a point incredible in itself, even if it had been said by Polybius,

Brancus would thus have left his capital again in the possession of rebels, and so have undone that very act of kindness for which he was to attend the Carthaginians; but, as the fact undoubtedly was and as Polybius speaks, only with *his own forces*, that is, with *some* of his own; "upon the rear of the Cartha-"ginian army, through the whole country---, *which they could not otherwise have passed without great fear and caution*." The translator has thus altered the sense, and actually *denies* what his author *affirms*. Polybius says, that the Carthaginians *were* "apprehensive" even *now*; and Mr. Hampton says, that they *would have been* apprehensive *if* Brancus *had not gone with them*.

And

Thus ſucceſsful in his progreſs, Hannibal ſet out again towards the Alps. But what courſe did he *now* purſue thither[b]? Did he *now* alter the route, which he had taken before; turn ſuddenly on his right from Lyons; and direct his march to *thoſe* Alps, from which he had turned away on his left before? Folard, who wildly takes Hannibal up towards Lyons as far only as Romans on the Iſere, in order to lead him, by a ſudden turn on the right, over Mount Genévre; now carries him to Mount Genévre accordingly. But M. de St. Simon, who brings him up to Vienne, more wildly (if we can talk of greater or leſſer wildneſs, where both are extravagantly wild) puts him back—to his point of paſſage over the Rhone; bringing him up betwixt Romans and Grenoble to Vienne, and then putting him back by Tein, by Valence, and by Montelimar; in order to make him commence where he ſhould have commenced

And having, by this inverſion of his author's ideas, ſalved the honour of the Carthaginians, he ventures to magnify their "apprehenſiveneſs" into "great fear and caution" (i. 354). That Brancus's attendance upon the army of Hannibal, was "the greateſt" of all his kindneſſes; is very weakly affirmed by Polybius. What ſort of a kindneſs it was, the ſequel ſhews in ſection iii. of this very chapter; and the affirmation will then appear totally diſproved. In my text, therefore, I have given another turn to the narrative.

[b] "Here," cries Mr. Archibald Bower in Ancient Univ. Hiſt. xii. 238, "an hiſtorian is as much at a loſs what route

menced before, his outset for the Cottian Alps [c]. Or did Hannibal now turn on his right, in order to

" to take," when he has brought Hannibal a march of ten days *beyond* Lyons, " as Hannibal himself was" more than ten days before, at his passage across the Rhone; " the ancients having " left us in great darkness, as to the exact place where the Car- " thaginian General passed the mountains. Some of the mo- " derns point out one place, and some another; but as *they* " *may all be, for aught we know, equally mistaken*, we shall fol- " low Hannibal through the immense difficulties he met with " in this his famous passage, *without pretending to ascertain the* " *precise place*, where he attempted, and happily accomplished, " so bold an undertaking." Yet, what is very surprising, there is a map attending this account, p. 235, in which the course of Hannibal is *actually delineated*. Did the map-maker fancy himself to be more knowing than his historian; that the graver thus pretends to set itself in contradiction to the pen, and the servant thus presumes to give the lie to his master?

[c] See the maps in St. Simon, and the routes upon them. Both he and Folard boast, of their personal acquaintance with the Alps; and of their superior fitness in consequence of that, for ascertaining the route of Hannibal through them. " L'in- " spection des lieux," says the former in p. vii, " m'a donné " l'idée la plus nette de toute l'histoire;" and " on me per- " mettra d'etre un peu decisif," says the latter in *Table de Comparaison* at the end, " sur ce point que je possede bien; " cela me sied beaucoup mieux qu' à un autre, qui ne les aura " ni vues ni etudiées, comme j'ai fait dans les Alpes et les Py- " renées." Yet the personal knowledge of M. de St. Simon, proscribes the personal knowledge of Folard (p. xxxviii); and I must proscribe that of both. Eyes may see; but only the glasses of history can enable them to see properly. M. de St. Simon also is as contradictory to himself, as he is erroneous in his ideas. After he has made Hannibal, like a hare hardly chaced,

to reach a *more northerly* part of theſe French Alps, and to paſs them by the road of LITTLE ST. BERNARD? This is the courſe, which he is ſuppoſed by ſeveral to have purſued; particularly by Mr. Breval, the moſt knowing and intelligent of all our Engliſh travellers; and by that dignified officer of our army, who went over the Alps in order to trace the footſteps of the Carthaginian Hero upon them. "From what has been ſaid by "Polybius," argues Mr. Breval, "concerning "*Hannibal's paſſing the Rhone at Lyons*," he ſhould have ſaid, concerning his coming up the Rhone to Lyons, after his paſſage over it below; "and "his entering Italy by the country of the Inſubri "[Inſubres], which is the preſent Milaneſe; it "will follow, that he took the road of Chamberri, "*the Petit St. Bernard*, and the Vale of Aoſta." In a note he adds, that *the Petit St. Bernard* "was "part of the Alps, called Poeninæ from the

chaced, to return upon his own ſteps, to double back to the point from which he ſet out, and to face his very purſuers; he forgets all this afterwards, and ſpeaks of Hannibal as marching, "non en circulant, ou *revenant ſur ſes pas*, ce que *je ne ſup-*"*poſe que ce General ait fait*;" and adds, "que ce grand Ca-"pitaine *n'auroit pas voulu donner une preuve viſible d'ignorance*, "en *retournant ſur ſes pas* (p. xxiii). Conſiſtency of aſſertions requires clearneſs of diſcriminations, and contradictions are the ſure evidence of confuſion. But ſuch a groſs contradiction as this, in a work of ſo ſmall a ſize, and conſiſting wholly of alledged facts, cannot readily be paralleled, I ſuppoſe, in all the realms of confuſion.

" march of the Carthaginians[d]." Accordingly " we are ſtill more inclined in our days," adds St. Simon, " to maintain that Hannibal paſſed by " Little St. Bernard; ſince we have been aſſured, " that all the bones of an elephant were diſco- " vered upon this mountain[e]." I underſtand too from ſome letters, with which the General has favoured me; and from a large map of the Alps, which he has communicated to me, after he had delineated the courſe, and ſet down obſervations, with his own hand upon it; that he carries Hannibal from Lyons acroſs Dauphiny, enters the Alps with him by a ſteep and rugged gully, *in which are ſtill viſible the remains of an ancient road*, and a little to the ſouth of which is the modern entrance for Mount Cenis, called Les Eſchelles. He thence conducts him along the vale, between high hills and up the river Yere, to the plain where Chamberry now ſtands; over it, and by St. Joire, to the vale of the river Iſere near Montmelian. He then brings him up along its *right* bank, to the grand bend of the Iſere on the right, and to Conflans upon it; along the trough of the Iſere ſtill, by La Roche Sevin, Faiſſon, Monſtier, Ayme, St. Maurice, and Sext, to the foot of

[d] Breval's Firſt Travels, i. 227; ſee alſo ii. 1-2.

[e] P. xvi. " On s'eſt encore plus attaché de nos jours, à " ſoutenir qu' Annibal a du paſſer par le Petit St. Bernard, de- " puis qu'on aſſuré qu'on a trouvé dans cette montagne tous " les oſſemens d'un elephant."

Little

Little St. Bernard; up its weſtern ſide, through a long, ſteep, and rugged gully, to the right of a rapid current without a name, but cloſe on the left of a hill called Roche Blanche, near the bottom of the aſcent, by the entrance into the gully, and at the village of Les Villars; ſo to the ſummit of *Little St. Bernard*, the gorge or paſs of which is wide and long enough, to contain Hannibal's army cloſely encamped [f].

[f] See Borgoni's Maps of the King of Sardinia's dominions, improved by Dury; and Placide's Map of Savoy.

"Being of opinion," ſays Mr. Pownall, "with thoſe learned "antiquaries who have, with a great degree of probable con-"jecture, traced the march of Hannibal through this vale" of the Durance; "------ it became matter of amuſement to me, "while paſſing down from the heights, to trace and follow "with my eye the ſuppoſed courſe of this march, as he is "ſuppoſed to have paſſed the Rhone at *Beaucaire* and "*Roquemaure*;" Beaucaire, which I have ſhown from Strabo and D'Anville before, to be Ugernum on the weſtern bank of the Rhone, and to be anſwered by Taraſcon on the eaſtern, both to the *ſouth* of *Avignon*: and Roquemaure, which I have equally ſhown from Father Colonia, to be to the north of *Avignon*, even *between* Avignon and Orange, and conſequently *thirty* or more miles to the north of Beaucaire: ſo confounded does Mr. Pownall here appear, in the geography of the very country which he is viſiting! "to have marched in *two columns* up to "*Ambrone*, and to have *thence* pierced through the paſſes "(thoſe of *the White Rock*) of the *Celtic* Alps to Turin" (Roman Ant. in Provence, &c. p. 43). The *latter* half of this extract preſents us with as ſignal an inſtance of geographical confuſedneſs, as the former has done already; and it is my unwelcome lot, to diſſect and exhibit both. Simler was the firſt, I believe, who ſtarted the idea of Hannibal's marching in more

Mr. Breval, as we ſee above, carries the Carthaginians from *Little* to *Bernard* down the Vale

than one courſe over the Alps; and he makes the courſes *ſeveral* (p. 221). But the notion of *ſeveral*, or even of *two*, is totally *ungrounded in itſelf; and, what is more ſtrange perhaps, is not made any hiſtorical uſe of by either of the adopters, Simler or Mr. Pownall. The latter carries Hannibal's whole army, in ſpite of his own hypotheſis, over one and the ſame* ridge of mountains. The mention of the *white rock* ſhews, that he carries the whole over the General's ridge, the Little St. Bernard. Yet the march from Roquemaure directly to "Ambrone," leads Hannibal *much* to the *ſouth* of thoſe Alps, and in a line only for the Cottian Alps or Mount Genévre. Mr. Pownall indeed muſt actually mean the Cottian, by the *Celtic*, Alps; all the Alps being Celtic in fact, and none of them particularly Celtic in appellation. Accordingly, in his own analyſis of his work prefixed to the whole, he ſays himſelf; that he here gives us "a tranſient view of the march of Hannibal,---from "Beaucaire to Ambrone, and acroſs the *Cottian* Alps to the "vale of Turin." He thus carries Hannibal by Embrun over Mount Genévre, and by the White Rock over Little St. Bernard, *in one and the ſame route*. He even carries Hannibal to *Embrun*, and from *thence* to the foot of *Little St. Bernard*; in order to convey him over the *Cottian* Alps, to Turin. The truth is, that Mr. Pownall very naturally imaged to himſelf the courſe of the Carthaginians, as running acroſs the Rhone by the Roman road at Beaucaire, and ſtretching over the Alps by the Roman road to Embrun, Mount Genévre, and Turin; that he afterwards heard of Colonia's point of paſſage at Roquemaure, and of the General's line of march by Roche Blanche; that with all the haſtineſs of a man of genius, and without condeſcending to undergo the dull drudgery of examining, he progreſſively ſuſpected, ſuppoſed, and believed both theſe routes to be the ſame with his own; then mentioned them boldly as ſuch; ſo confounded himſelf, confounded his readers, and confounded all geography.

of

of Aoſta. In the ſame line does the General alſo conduct them. On the top of *Little St. Bernard*, he obſerves, is a ſmall lake which gives riſe to a river, that at the village of Hauteville, vulgarly *and erroneouſly called Tuille, is joined by a brook. Over this brook,* as well as the General recollects, the road goes down to Tuille, a ſmall diſtance below, over a very high and narrow bridge. A few hundred yards beyond the junction of this brook with the river, is ſuch a narrow path on the ſteep ſide of a looſe and rocky hill, as is liable to be waſhed away by falling rains or melting ſnows, or even to be beat down by balls of ſnow; and as well correſponds in the General's opinion, with the broken road that interrupted Hannibal's march. When the General paſſed it in the end of September 1775, it had been repaired in ſome places by long pine-trees, laid length-wiſe, and planed along their upper ſides. Over theſe he, his ſervant, and his mules were obliged to paſs; and he was told by his mule-driver, that this was the worſt part of the Alps, and that the inhabitants were forced to repair it every year. The road appears from the maps, to reach the river of Little St. Bernard juſt below the fall of a brook into it, to croſs the river, make a circuit round a village, re-croſs the river, make an equal circuit upon the other bank, croſs the river again, make a third circuit, and finally re-croſs the river for St. Didier. In the aſcent to St. Didier, therefore,

I ſup-

I ſuppoſe that dangerous paſs to be; which the General's memory is obliged to fix ſo indefinitely at preſent, as to place it "a few hundred yards" below the union of the river and the brook. He thence comes down by Morges, La Sala, Derbe, Aviſe, and Livrogne, to Aoſta; paſſes through its long and winding valley, by Verrex to Ivrea; and there turns on the right to the capital of the Taurini, Turin[s].

This route, ſo particularly *ſtepped out* by the General, certainly bears very ſtrong marks of probability upon the face of it. But, what adds to the probability, this very route was purſued by the contending armies of the French and the Allies, in the war of our Queen Anne. In 1709, the latter ſent their main body over Mount Cenis: while a ſmall corps drew near by the valley of Aoſta to *Little St. Bernard*, aſcended, and paſſed over it. The whole army retreated afterwards, partly by Mount Cenis, and partly by *Little St. Bernard*. In 1711 they croſſed Mount Cenis again, in order to make the French quit the Tarentaiſe; and to aſſiſt ſuch of their own forces, as were to paſs by *Little St. Bernard*. They even advanced at laſt, very near to Montmelian. But, as *they were obliged to follow the courſe of the Iſere*, the cannons, which the French had planted at La

[s] Borgoni's map by Dury, the General's own remarks on the margin, and Placide's map.

Chavane,

Chavane, did ſome damage to their columns. They ſent parties, however, to take poſſeſſion of Chamberry; and all their *cavalry* encamped there. But they were at length compelled to retreat, and all paſſed back by *Little St. Bernard* [h]. Such a practiſed road has this been, to our modern armies!

Nor was it ſo, merely to the moderns. It was not unknown to the Romans themſelves. Theſe actually laid one of their grand roads, acroſs the *Little St. Bernard*; which runs "from Milan over "THE GRAIAN ALPS to Vienne" in Dauphiny. But I ſhall invert the order of it, to accommodate it to our preſent purpoſe. It then goes thus: "*Vienna* .....," *Vienne*; "*Berguſiam*, m. p. xx," *Bourgoin*; "*Auguſtum*, m. p. xiv" [Peutinger's Tables, "Auguſtum xii]," *Aoſte* at the fall of the Guier or Yere into the Rhone near St. Genis [i]; "*Labiſconem*, m. p. xiv [Laviſcone, xiv]," *acroſs* the Guier or Yere, ſays D'Anville, to Novaleſe on the Petty Laiſſe, but at the diſtance only of *eight* miles, and, as *I* think, by a curve ſtill *greater* on the right than D'Anville has made on the left, *up* the Guier or Yere, and alongſide the Alps [k] to the General's ſteep and rugged gully, *in which are ſtill viſible the remains of a Roman road,*

[h] Berwick's Memoirs, ii. 73-74, 81, 118, 124, and 129.
[i] D'Anville, 128 and 154, and his map of Gallia Antiqua.
[k] Placide's map.

and

and to the village of *Voiſein* ſouth of Pont de Beau-*voiſin* and north of the gully[l]; thence up the gully, which is formed by the Guier or Yere, and is its outlet from the Alps, ſtill along its current, and in its valley between high hills, to its ſource, and over the hills to the plain or bottom in which Chamberry ſtands, and to "*Lemincum*, m. p. xiv "[Leminco, xvi]," the village of *Lemens* immediately beyond Chamberry, on the other ſide of the river Leiſſe, where ſeveral coins, urns, and little idols of the Romans have been dug up[m]; then, not croſſing at Montmelian the rapid and torrent-like Iſere, as the General unwarily does, in order to mount up on its *right* bank, and to re-croſs it afterwards for Conflans, but keeping on its *left* bank for the grand curve of the Iſere on the right, to "Mantanam, m. p. xvi [*Mantala*, xvi]," *Montalieu* between Freterive and Tournon, and a little to the left of the preſent road[n]; advancing upwards on the *left* bank ſtill "Ad Publicanos, m. "p. xvi [Ad Publicanos, iii]," to L'Hopital on the Arli juſt at the curve of the Iſere, and to Conflans on the other ſide of the Arli, where the road of the Itinerary and the route of the General unite again; "Oblimum, m. p. iii [Obilonna, "xiii]," La Roche Sevin; and "*Darantaſiam*, "m. p. xiii [Darantaſia, x]," *Centron*, now a

[l] Placide's map.

[m] Breval's Firſt Travels, ii. 3; and D'Anville, 403.

[n] Placide's map.

village

village between Monſtier and Ayme, but (as appears from the name) once the capital of the Centrones, and therefore the firſt metropolis of the *Tarentaiſe*, borrowing its *preſent* appellation from its people, and lending its *original* one to its region [o]. But, in order to ſhow the general juſtneſs of this arrangement, let me here introduce another route of the Romans, which falls into this at Darantaſia; and ſo proves Darantaſia ſtill more, to be Centron. This goes "from Milan over "THE GRAIAN ALPS to Straſburg." Inverted, it has theſe ſtages to its point of concurrence with the other: "*Lacum Lauſonium* --------," *Lauſanne*, on what was then called the Lake of Lauſanne, but is now denominated the Lake of Geneva, ſo ſhifting is the property even of territorial names! "*Equeſtrim*, m. p. xx," *Nyon*; "*Cenabum*, m. p. "xvii," *Geneva*; "Bautas, m. p. xxv," Old

[o] Antonini Itinerarium, 22, "A Mediolano per Alpes "Graias Viennam ----------: Darantaſiam -------; Oblimum, "m. p. xiii; Ad Publicanos, m. p. iii; Mantanam, m. p. xvi; "Lemincum, m. p. xvi; Labiſconem, m. p. xiv; Auguſtum, "m. p. xiv; Bergusiam, m. p. xvi; Viennam, m. p. xx." Peutinger's Tables, firſt and ſecond ſegment: "Vigenna -----; "Bergusium, xii; Auguſtum, xiv; Laviſcone, xiv; Leminco, "xvi; Mantala, xvi; Ad Publicanos, iii; Obilonna, xiii; "Darantaſia, x." See alſo the map prefixed to Berwick's Memoirs; the much more uſeful map of Savoy, &c. in maps for Modern Univ. Hiſtory; and the ſtill more uſeful map of Borgomi by Dury. See alſo D'Anville, 153-154, 432-433, and 403-404.

Annecy:

Annecy; "*Caſuariam*, m. p. xviii," Bourg d'Ugine, on the brook *Chaiſe*, and in the diſtrict *Ceſerieux*; "Darantaſiam, m. p. xxi," Centron; "Bergintrum," &c. [p]. Having ſo far ſecured our ground, let us take the line of the former road, and mount the Graian Alps with it. This proceeds thus, the Tables firſt interpolating one ſtage, "Axunam, ix" [in Ptolemy, "*Axima*"], *Ayme*, written alſo *Aiſme* and *Aixme*, and proved to be a Roman town by two Roman inſcriptions found at it [q]; "Bergintrum, m. p. xix [Bergin-"trum, xii]," the *preſent* capital of the Tarantaiſe, St. Maurice, where another road falls into this, that runs parallel with the way by Old Annecy and Bourg d'Ugine to Centron, and with the road by Rumelie and Aix to Lemens [r]; Tables, "In

[p] Anton. Itin. 22, "A Mediolano per Alpes Graias Argen-"toratum: Bergintrum ----------, Darantaſiam, m. p. xviii; "Caſuariam, m. p. xxiv; Bautas, m. p. xviii; Cenabum, "m. p. xxv; Equeſtrim, m. p. xvii; Lacum Lauſonium, "m. p. xx." And ſee Breval's Firſt Travels, ii. 21-24, Cox's Travels in Switzerland, ii. 63; Map of Savoy, &c.; Borgoni's Map; and D'Anville, 145, 212. The country about Lyons is ſaid by Simler, 94, to be called "Pays de "Chabaul" or "Tſchaballes" from the Latin *Gabalus*, at preſent; and ſo to retain the memory of the Roman name of Lyon, *Equeſtris*, in a correſpondent one from the Roman language.

[q] D'Anville, 318.

[r] Anton. Itin. 22; Map of Savoy; orgoni's and Placide's Maps; and Sauſſure, iii. 255. See alſo ſection iv. of this chapter, a note, for this other road to St. Maurice.

"ALPE

"ALPE GRAIA, vi," THE TOP OF LITTLE SAINT-BERNARD, a hill which is denominated, not from any comparative littleneſs between it and the Great St. Bernard, but from the ſmaller ſize of the convent upon it; Tables again, "Ariolica, xvi," Morges; "Arebrigium, m. p. xxiv [Arebrigium, "xxv]," Livrogne; "*Auguſtam Prætoriam*, m. p. "xxv [Auguſta Pretoria, xxviii]," *Aoſta*; "*Vtricium*, m. p. xxv [Vtricio, xxi]," *Verrex*; and "*Eporædiam*, m. p. xxi [Eporedia, xxxiii]," *Ivrea*[s]. The whole unites to ſhew us, that this paſs over Little St. Bernard was a regular road of the Romans, and that it has been frequently travelled by them[t].

— II. —

YET, after all, this is not the courſe which Hannibal purſued, or by which Livy and Polybius

[s] Anton. Itin. 22: "Eporædiam . . . . . ; Vitricium, "m. p. xxi; Auguſtam Prætoriam, m. p. xxv; Arebrigium, "m. p. xxv; Bergintrum, m. p. xxiv." Peutinger's Tables, ſecond ſegment: "Darantaſia, ... ; Axunam, ix: Ber-"gintrum, xii; in Alpe Graia, vi; Ariolica, xvi; Arebrigium, "xxv; Auguſta Pretoria, xxviii; Vtricio, xxi; Eporedia, "xxxiii." Map of Savoy, &c. and Placide's Map, where this road is actually traced by Montmelian, Fretterive, Tournon, Conflans, Monſtier, and St. Maurice, to the top of Little St. Bernard, then over the top towards Aoſta; and Borgoni's Map.

[t] Theſe Alps are made to retain their ancient name, ſo late as in Placide's Map; he marking them there, as "Alpes *Gre-*"*coiſes* ou de Savoye."

CONCLU-

concur to carry him into Italy. It appears to be not, from a large variety of notices, ſome ancient, *ſome modern, but all converging to one common point. Theſe combine to lead him a very dif-* ferent way; and it is my wiſh, to point out the way deciſively to my reader.

Hannibal had hitherto kept cloſe to the Rhone, and thus advanced up to Lyon. He *ſtill kept cloſe to the Rhone, and thus advanced up to the Alps.* He ſtill purſued the current of this river upwards. He even purſued it nearly *up to its ſource.* This, I believe, has never been obſerved before; yet it is very certain. It is demonſtrably plain upon the pages of Polybius. From the point at which he croſſed the Rhone, ſays this author, Hannibal went "ALONG THE RIVER, leaving the ſea behind "him, MARCHING EASTWARDS, and puſhing, as it "were, TOWARDS THE MIDLAND REGIONS OF EU-"ROPE[u]." This is clear; yet what immediately follows is ſtill more ſo. "But the Rhone," adds Polybius in the *very next* words, "*has its ſprings* "above the Adriatic gulph, inclining to the weſt, "*in thoſe parts of the Alps which fall away to the* "*north*: it flows however towards the ſouth-"weſt, and diſcharges itſelf into the ſea of Sar-"dinia; and is carried—along a valley, the nor-"thern ſide of which is inhabited by Ardues

[u] Polybius iii. 47. Παρα τον ποταμον, απο θαλαττης, ως επι την ω ποιουμενος την πορειαν, ως εις το μεσογαιον της Ευρωπης.

" Celtæ, while the ſouthern is all bounded by " *thoſe ſlopes of the Alps, which incline towards the* " *north* [x]." All this plainly implies Hannibal, *to have croſſed the Alps near the ſprings of the Rhone*, and in thoſe parts of the mountains *which incline towards the north*. Yet we are not left by Polybius, to mere implications upon the point. He inſtantly ſpeaks out with a full explicitneſs. " *The* " *plains upon the Po*," he goes on finally to ſay,

[x] Polybius iii. 47. Ο δε Ροδανος τχειμεν τας πηγας υπερ του Αδριαλικε μυχου, προς την Εσπεραν νευσας, εν τοις αποκλινουσι μερεσι των Αλπεων, ως προς τας Αρκλους· ρει δε προς τας χειμερινας δυσεις, εκβαλλει δ' εις το Σαρδωον πελαγος· Φερεται δι—δι' αυλωνος, ου προς μεν τας Αρκλους, Αρδυες Κελλοι καλουσουσι. Την δ' απο μεσημβριας αυλου πλευραν οριζουσι πασαν, προς Αρκλον κεκλιμεναι των Αλπεων παρωρειαι. " The Rhone has its ſources above the Adriatic gulph, in thoſe " parts of the Alps that *ſtand* towards the north, and *at firſt* " *flows weſtward*; but *afterwards* it *bends* its ſtream to the " ſouth-weſt" (i. 349). All this is moſt confuſedly tranſlated. What belongs to the *ſprings*, Mr. Hampton has given to the *current*; and made this to flow to the weſt, then turn to the ſouth-weſt, when Polybius only fixes the ſprings *above* the Adriatic gulph, but " inclining to the weſt" of it, and carries the river at once to the ſouth-weſt. And, in order to commit this violence upon his author's meaning, he has been compelled to uſe the word *bends*, when his author ſays *flows*; and abſolutely to interpolate the words *at firſt*, and *afterwards*. The neceſſity for theſe operations ſhould have awakened Mr. Hampton, from his dream of inattention; and made him open his eyes, to the obvious meaning of Polybius. But he was too much locked up in ſlumber, to be awakened even by ſo loud a call; and, *when Jove ſlumbered, confuſion enſued among the Greeks*.

" are ſeparated from *the valley along the Rhone*, " by *the creſts of the forementioned hills*;—which " CRESTS HANNIBAL THEN MOUNTED OVER FROM " THOSE PLACES ALONG THE RHONE, and ſo EN- " TERED ITALY [y]."

This is very peremptory, and needs no corroboration. Yet we can lend it ſome, and from Polybius himſelf. In a preceding part of his hiſtory, he reckons up the length of Hannibal's march, from New Carthage (or Carthagena) in Spain, to the plains of the Po in Italy; by ſome grand meaſures which he ſpecifies. In theſe his hero, like the Neptune of Homer, ſtalks in three or four ſtrides acroſs a whole continent. Theſe therefore muſt point out in the preciſeſt manner, the courſe of Hannibal through France into Piedmont. From Carthagena to the river Ebro, he ſtates his march to be 2600 ſtadia, at eight ſtadia

[y] Polybius iii. 47. Τα δι πεδια τα περα του Παδου,—απο του καλα του Ροδανου αυλωνος διαζευγνυσι αι των προειρημενων ορων ακρωρειαι—, ας τοθ' υπερβας Αννιβας απο των κατα τον Ροδανον τοπων, επεβαλεν εις Ιταλιαν. "The plains *around* the Po—are ſeparated *alſo* from " *this* valley by the *Alps*—; theſe *were the mountains*, which " Annibal *was to paſs*; as he came *forwards* from *the Rhone*, " *to enter* Italy." i. 349. The negligence, the unfaithfulneſs of the tranſlation, is groſsly apparent here. The very peremptorineſs of the author, that loud note from the lips of clearneſs and certainty, ſeems to have frightened the tranſlator; and induced him to ſoften the tones of this trumpet, I ſuppoſe, in tenderneſs to his own ears.

to a mile; and consequently 325 miles. From the Ebro to the Rhone, he makes it to be 3200 stadia, or 400 miles. But his next stage is, he says expressly himself, "from the passage over the "Rhone, in the route ALONG THE RIVER ITSELF, "as TOWARDS THE SPRINGS, even up TO THE "POINT OF ASCENT OVER THOSE ALPS WHICH "LEAD INTO ITALY [z]."

All seems to shew us with a plenitude of evidence, that Hannibal did not leave the Rhone at his passage across it, in order to go by Mount Genévre or Mount Cenis into Italy; that he did not leave it even at Lyons, in order to cross over Little St. Bernard thither; that, in his march *from* Lyons, he did just as he had done in his march *to* it before, and kept close to the banks of the Rhone in both; that in both he pursued one and the same plan of movements, completing in the latter what he had begun in the former; that he

[z] Polybius iii. 39. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τῆς Ῥοδανου, πορευομένοις παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς, ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἀλπείων τῶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. "From the passage of the Rhone, if we "take our course up the river," *as towards the springs*, this material mark of direction being astonishingly omitted by Mr. Hampton, "*to* the *beginning*," *even up to the ascent*, words much more emphatical and precise, "of the Alps" *that lead into Italy*, these words of still higher moment in the mensuration of the route, being still more astonishingly omitted by Mr. Hampton. So inaccurate, so unjust, so false to the original, is this translation here!

mounted up near the very riſe of the Rhone, that there he aſcended the Alps, and thence he penetrated into Italy. All the various ſuppoſitions therefore, of his marching over any part of that great barrier of hills, which flanks the *weſtern* ſide of North-Italy; vaniſh into air at once, like ſo many miſts, before the ſtrong luſter of this hiſtorical ſun. Hannibal reached the mountains, at a very different point. Hannibal entered them, in a very different direction. He went not from weſt to eaſt along them, but traverſed them from north to ſouth, and actually *interſected* all the lines of his ſuppoſed movements [a].

He had indeed the beſt of reaſons, for ſo doing. *There was no formed road over the weſtern Alps, at the time.* There was none, *for about two hundred years afterward.* This is apparent from ſeveral no-

[a] There is an attempt made by a very recent traveller, to aſcertain the courſe of Hannibal, and to carry him by Briancon to Feneſtrelles. See Travels through Swiſſerland, Italy, &c. by Thomas Watkins, A. M. 1792, i. 186-190. But the attempt is ſo feeble in its operation, ſo ungrounded in hiſtorical authority, ſo falſe in facts, and ſo frivolous in arguments; that it cannot provoke a particular expoſure. It is indeed little more than a paſſage in that "*Itineraire* par M. Dutens," which is the Foundling Hoſpital for underſtanding (I believe) to half of our letter-writing and publiſhing travellers; expanded in a fuller diſplay of errour, and beaten out into a greater tenuity of folly. The *original* paſſage I ſhall examine and expoſe, in vol. ii. chap. i. ſect. 5. hereafter.

tices.

tices. The tribes upon the Alps were in that political ſtate of nature, as it were, which was ſuggeſted by their ſituation; their elevation above their neighbours, their inacceſſibility in their faſtneſſes, and their power of plundering with impunity all who ventured into their mountains. They were on theſe terms of hoſtility with all mankind, till the days of Auguſtus; when they were firſt brought within the pale of civility, and united to their human brothers around them. In all this interval of civic barbariſm, they naturally made no roads themſelves acroſs their mountains, and neceſſarily ſuffered none to be made by others. The Romans indeed uſed to travel over them; but juſt as we travel over the deſerts of Judæa and Syria at preſent, by no regular road, only by ſome general ſignatures of a courſe, and in continual apprehenſion of the ruffian inhabitants about them. In this manner Cæſar went at the end of almoſt every campaign, from the ſouth of France into the north of Italy; and returned again in the ſpring. He even ordered two legions at one time, and three at another, over theſe formidable hills [b]. He once marched over

[b] Bell. Gall. ii. 2. p. 59. Davis. "Duas legiones in Citeriore "Galliâ novas conſcripſit, et, ineunte æſtate, in Interiorem "Galliam qui deduceret, Q. Pedium legatum miſit;" and vi. 1. p. 186. "Tribus ante exactam hiemem et conſtitutis et "*adductis* legionibus." In the former paſſage "Interiorem," which,

Mount Cenis; and in the courſe of the road, that I have already ſhown the Romans to have laid afterwards, from Suſa, by *Exiles* and over Mount Genévre, into the ſouth, the middle, and the north of Dauphiny. But he purſued not any of theſe branches of that great ſtem. He wanted to puſh *directly* into the north of Dauphiny. He therefore could not go down on his left to Mount Genévre, and there turn off on his right to Vienne. He turned off ſhort on his right, at once; paſſed Mount Cenis cloſe on his right, and Mount Genévre remotely on his left; and ſhaped his courſe acroſs the mountains, towards Grenoble. He thus had the line of the future road to Little St. Bernard, nearly parallel to his courſe, but curving at a conſiderable diſtance upon one ſide; and fell in probably with that of the future road from Grenoble to Briançon, at Villars d'Arenes [h]. He would therefore march along the ſmall ſtate of the *Centrones*, whoſe capital ſtill retains the name of its nation, as I have juſt now noticed, and is a village near Monſtier on the Iſere under the name of *Centron*; and whoſe dominions muſt have extended at the time, as low as the river Arc [i]. He would *previouſly* have on his right flank alſo, thoſe barbarians of the Graian Alps, who were now diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Graioceli*, or the Graian mountaineers; who

[h] Map in Berwick's Memoirs. [i] Ibid.

had

had their capital assuredly, on *the Graian Alp* or Little St. Bernard; but whose Alps extended all the way from Little St. Bernard to Mount Cenis, and included the latter in their line[k]. This tribe appears plainly from its position, and from the silence of every writer but Cæsar concerning it, to have been latterly reduced by the Centrones, and therefore considered by posteriour writers as a part of them. Strabo accordingly carries the road which goes over the Graian Alps, and consequently through the heart of the Graian dominions, expressly "through the region of the "Centrones;" whose capital lay at the western foot of those Alps, and whose kingdom ranged along the western foot of them, from the river at St. Maurice probably to the torrent at Termignon. Strabo too cites Polybius expressly, and some lost description of the Alps by him; for equally carrying the road of the Graian Alps, through what was in Strabo's time denominated "the region of "the Centrones." And Ptolemy, placing the Centrones as expressly upon the very Graian Alps themselves, gives them also Axima or Ayme at the western foot of the Alps[l]. But Cæsar would equally have on his left flank, those mountaineers of the Cottian Alps who were called *Caturiges*.

[k] Ibid. and Placide's Map.

[l] Strabo iv. 314. Η δε δια Κεντρωνων δυσμικωτερα, and 318. Δια μηκους πλειονος η δια Κεντρωνων; Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 71. Εν δε ταις Γραιαις Αλπεσιν Κεντρωνων.

These

Theſe ſpread from Charges their capital, by Embrun and Briancon, to the Arc; and even extended on the weſt, to the borders of the Vocontii and towards Grenoble [m]. Such would be the nations of the Alps, that could alone attempt to interrupt his progreſs, in the line of march that I have drawn for him. He accordingly acquaints us, that during his advance "the *Centrones*, the "*Graioceli*, and the *Caturiges*, ſeize all the heights "of the mountains, and endeavour to ſtop the "march of the army [n]." But he "defeats them "in ſeveral engagements [o]." He thus "comes "in ſeven days" from his leaving Exiles, "into "the dominions of the Vocontii" about Grenoble [p]. He then "paſſes into the dominions of "the Allobroges," near Vienne [q]; and finally carries his army "from the Allobroges, to the "Seguſiani" at Lyons [r].

All

[m] Map in Berwick's Memoirs.

[n] Bell. Gall. i. 10. p. 12. "Ibi Centrones, et Graioceli, et "Caturiges, locis ſuperioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum "prohibere conantur."

[o] P. 12. "Compluribus his præliis pulſis."

[p] P. 12. "In fines Vocontiorum Ulterioris Provinciæ die "ſeptimo pervenit."

[q] P. 12. "Inde in Allobrogum fines."

[r] P. 12. "Ab Allobrogibus in Seguſianos exercitum du-"cit."

The name of *Graioceli* ſpeaks ſufficiently, who are meant by it in general. "Ejuſdem," ſays Pliny iii. 20 concerning Hercules's company, "et *Graias* fuiſſe, poſitos in tranſitu" by Hercules,

All this lays open the wild and ferocious ſtate of theſe weſtern Alps, in the days even of Cæſar himſelf. There was particularly, no formed road *over them. This we ſhall ſee ſtill more from* Cæſar, almoſt immediately. And we ſhall ſee hereafter from Livy, at the time of his writing an early portion of his hiſtory; that there *was* then [1]. In the period between both, Auguſtus reduced a number of the Alpine tribes; and, conſequently, carried that perpetual attendant upon the conqueſts of Rome, and that eternal monument of

Hercules, "*Graiarum Alpium incolas.*" In Welſh we have *Uchel* ſignifying *high*, and we have the *Ochel* hills in Scotland.

Ptolemy, though right in his general poſition of the Centrones, and in his particular aſſignment of Axima to them, yet ſtrangely aſſigns them "Forum Claudii," which (as I ſhall ſhew hereafter) belongs to a very different part of the Alps; and has miſ-led D'Anville 317-319, by his miſtake. The Centrones are again mentioned by Pliny, and with the Caturiges, in iii. 20; "ſunt præterea Latio donati incolæ," inhabitants of the Alps, "ut Octodurenſes," not, as D'Anville 501 conſiders them, the Veragri, who are (as it were) in another hemiſphere, but (as appears from the *neighbourhood* aſſigned them in the words immediately following) the inhabitants of Octodurum in the Tables before, the people of Avencon on the Vence between Gap and Charges, and ſo lying near to the Centrones, "et finitimi Ceutrones [Centrones]." Ptolemy, though he places the Caturiges, or (as he calls them) the Caturigidi, equally with the Centrones, on the Graian Alps (iii. 1. p. 71); yet very contradictorily to himſelf, though very properly in point of fact, aſſigns them Eburodunum or Embrun.

[1] Chap. iv. ſect. 6.

the

the glory of the Romans, a train of formed roads along them; their very *minds* ſeeming to mount as much ſuperiour to the nations around, as their arms themſelves; and their minds ſo mounting probably, from the very ſucceſs of their arms. He reduced thoſe tribes among the reſt, which we have ſeen contending with Cæſar before. He reduced "all the Alpine tribes," ſays a monument that he erected on the occaſion, "which "reach from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean [1]."

Some

[1] "Imperatori Cæſari, Divi Fil. Aug. Pontifici Maximo, "Imp. xiii, Tribunitiæ Poteſtatis S. P. Q. R. quòd "ejus ductu auſpiciiſque *gentes Alpinæ omnes, quæ a Mari "Supero ad Inferum pertinebant*, ſub *imperium populi Romani "ſunt redactæ*. Gentes Alpinæ devictæ," of the *Rhæti*, "Trumpilini, Camuni, Vennonetes, Iſarci, Breuni Naunes, "Focunates," of whom the Focunates have left their name to Vogogna, and the Camuni to the valley of Camonica; "*Vin-"delicorum*, gentes quatuor, Conſuanetes, Virucinates, Licates, "Catenates; Abiſontes, Rugulci, Suanetes, Calucones, Bri-"xentes, Lepontii Viberi," all about the ſprings of the Rhone, the Brixentes on the Lake of Brientz, and the Lepontii (who appear from this inſcription to be falſely reckoned among the Rhæti by Strabo iv. 315, and are actually diſtinguiſhed from them by Strabo himſelf in p. 313) having left their name to a vale almoſt oppoſite to the Lake of Brientz, that of Leventin, being there fixed at the ſprings by Pliny himſelf (iii. 20), though placed by Ptolemy, in one of his many blunders concerning the Alps, "upon the Cottian Alps," yet preſented very properly with the town of Oſcella, Domo d'Oſſula at preſent (iii. 1. p. 71); "Nantuates, Seduni, Veragri," of whoſe ſituation I ſhall ſpeak hereafter; "Acitavones, Medulli, Uce-"ni,"

Some nations, however, that were under one monarch, and courted Auguſtus's friendſhip; he

" ni," all on the north-weſtern Alps, to the borders of the *Centrones* and Octodurenſes, who are omitted for a reaſon that I ſhall give in the next note; " *Caturiges*, Brigiani, Sogiontii, " Ebroduntii," only parts or diviſions of the Caturiges *probably, as the Ebroduntii certainly are, and the inhabitants of* Briancon and Seine, as thoſe are of Embrun; " Nemaloni, " Edenates, Eſubiani, Veamini, Gallitæ, Triulatti, Ectini, " Vergunni, Eguituri, Nementuri, Oratelli, Neruſi, Vellauni, " Suetri," ranging from the Caturiges down to Nice and Monaco (Pliny iii. 20); the Suetri and Neruſi being both noticed particularly by Ptolemy, and fixed on " the Maritime Alps," the Suetri about " Salinæ" or Seillans, in the dioceſe of Frejus (D'Anville 567-568), and the Neruſi about " Vintium" or Vence in Provence, &c. (iii. 1. p. 71); the Suetri being alſo noticed by Pliny as in Gallia Narbonenſis (iii. 4), and therefore being equally in Provence with the Neruſi. So far did the Alps then extend into the preſent France, and ſo much have the French uſurped upon the Alpine nations!

We have thus a comprehenſive liſt of thoſe tribes on the Alps, that were reduced by Auguſtus under the yoke of Rome. The monument that had this inſcription upon it, was placed at *the terminating point* of all the conqueſts, on that ſhore of the Mediterranean to which the liſt proceeds, and near thoſe towns of Nice and Monaco at which it ends. Pliny calls it " Tro- " phæum Alpium" (iii. 20). An adjoining town was called from it " Trophæum Auguſti" (Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 68). *This* retains the name of Turbia or Torbia, at preſent; as *that* overlooks the town of Monaco, and now exhibits " the appear- " ance of an old ruined tower." But " there is a deſcription " of what it was, in an Italian manuſcript; by which it ap- " pears to have been *a beautiful edifice of two ſtories, adorned* " *with columns and trophies in alto relievo*, with *a ſtatue of* *Auguſtus*

he ſuffered to remain unreduced by him, and in alliance with him. He even enlarged the extent of this little kingdom, by adding a number of the *conquered tribes to it, and putting them equally* under the ſceptre of that Alpine monarch, Cotys or Cottius, as he is differently denominated by the Romans[a]. Auguſtus therefore made the Roman

[a] *Auguſtus Cæſar on the top.* On one of the ſides was an in-"ſcription, *ſome* words of which are ſtill legible, upon the "fragment of a marble found cloſe to the old building." We ſhould therefore have loſt this valuable, though general, topography of the Alps for ever, though inſcribed upon marble; if it had not been copied upon the pages of Pliny. So much more durable than marble itſelf, is a manuſcript; and merely from the power of multiplying copies! "This noble monu-"ment of antiquity was *firſt* of all deſtroyed by *fire*," a family (I preſume) living within it; "and afterwards, in *Gothic* "times, converted into a kind of fortification. The marbles "belonging to it," to the *upper* part of it, "were either em-"ployed in adorning the church of the adjoining village," by forming the altar and ſome ſepulchral tablets, I ſuppoſe, "— "or converted into ſtone-ſtones, or carried off to be preſerved," as the inſcribed ſtone (I preſume) is, "in one or two churches "of Nice. At preſent, the work has the appearance of a ru-"inous watch-tower, with Gothic battlements" given it when it was made a Gothic fortreſs (Smollet, i. 269 and 270-271).

In the inſcription upon the trophy at Monaco are not ſpecified the tribes, that were hereditarily under Cottius, and formed his kingdom. "Non ſunt adjectæ," ſays Pliny, iii. 20, "Cottianæ civitates xii, quæ non fuerunt hoſtiles." But we have another enumeration of tribes, in an inſcription which was ſet up by Cottius himſelf near Suſa, and runs thus: "Imp. Cæſari Auguſto, Divi F. Pont. Maximo Trib. Potef-

"tate

man road instantly, which I have previously traced across the Graian Alps, and which I shall here-

" tate xv. Imp. xiii. *M. Julius, Regis Donni Filius, Cottius,*" two names, that explain this passage of Strabo concerning the Ligures, Τῶν δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τῶν Κοττίου λεγομένη γῆ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Κοττίου (iv. 312), "Præfectus civitatum quæ subscriptæ sunt, Sego-" viorum," the people about Sezane perhaps, Gesdao being also called Segovia, I suppose, and so leaving the name of Sezane to the town; " Segusinorum," those about Susa, those who inhabited along the northern side of the Doria, opposite to the present Susa, Susa itself being in Italy, as I shall soon shew in the text, and therefore not in the kingdom of Cottius; " Bellacorum," I know not whom; " *Caturigum, Medullorum,*" both mentioned in the former inscription; " Trebaviorum, " *Adanatium*" mentioned in the former; " Savincatium," a name that must not be supposed, as written and pronounced *Savicatium*, to be the original of the name of Savoy, because *this* appears twice in the Notitia, and is there written nearly as it now is in Latin, Sapaudia (fol. 179); " *Egdiniorum, Vernio-*" *niorum,*" both mentioned in the former inscription; " Veni-" samiorum, Iriorum" the people about Iria (Ptolemy, iii. 1. p. 71), now Voghera, a town a little to the east of Tortona, mentioned with Dertona by Ptolemy, and given with it to the Taurini by him; " *Esubianorum,*" mentioned in the former inscription, " Ovadiavium, et civitates quæ sub eo præfecto " fuerunt" (Breval's Second Travels, i. 290—291). Pliny calls the Cottian tribes, *twelve* in number; yet there are *fourteen* here. But Dio, lx. 24. p. 961, informs us, that Augustus " *enlarged* to Marcus Julius Cottius his paternal principality, " which he possessed upon the Alps of his name; then first " giving him the title of King:" Μάρκῳ Ἰουλίῳ Κοττίῳ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπείων τῶν ὁμωνύμων ὄρων, προσεπιδοὺς, Βασιλέα ἐκεῖνον τοῖς πρώτοις ἐποίησε. Yet, on a close inspection, we do not find *any* of these to be of the twelve Cottian states of Pliny. These

hereafter ſhow from Strabo to have been exiſting in his time[v]. The preſent kingdom of Cottius too,

Theſe are *all* tribes equally reduced by Auguſtus, with thoſe in the former inſcription; though, from the change of names by involution of one appellative in another, we cannot trace *all* the names of the latter in the former. But that *all* were tribes, equally reduced with thoſe by Auguſtus, is plain on a careful examination of the preſent inſcription. Cottius erects the arch and addreſſes the inſcription to Auguſtus, expreſsly *as* the *Præfect of Auguſtus* to all the tribes recited; "Cottius "præfectus civitatum quæ ſubſcriptæ ſunt." Theſe tribes alſo concur with him in the act, expreſsly *as* forming *his Præfecture of Auguſtus over them*; "Cottius præfectus civitatum quæ ſub-"ſcriptæ ſunt,—et civitates quæ ſub eo præfecto fuerunt." They are therefore that appendage of ſtates merely, which Auguſtus ſubjoined to his hereditary kingdom. His kingdom itſelf is not particularized, the twelve tribes are not enumerated at all, and we know the Octodurenſes and the Centrones to be omitted, though they are expreſsly ſpecified by Pliny as members of his kingdom. After both theſe inſcriptions therefore, we muſt ſtill repeat what Pliny has ſaid after the former only, "nunc ſunt adjectæ Cottianæ civitates xii, quæ non fue-"runt hoſtiles." From both we know merely the ſtates, that compoſed the Præfecture annexed to his kingdom; and know only, that the kingdom actually conſiſted of the Centrones and Octodurenſes, but muſt alſo have comprized the Caturiges and other tribes. Some of theſe others are even noted by Pliny, as branches of the Caturiges, and therefore (we may be ſure) under the kingly authority of Cottius with them: "ſunt præ-"terea Latio donati incolæ, ut Octodurenſes et finitimi Cen-"trones, Cottianæ civitates, Caturiges, et *ex Caturigibus orti*, "Vagienni, Ligures, et qui Montani vocantur, Capilatorum-"que plura genera ad confinium Liguſtici maris;" *Vagienni*, the

[v] Chap. iv. ſect. vi.

too, was equally formed into a regular road; and this is ſaid for that reaſon, to go over the *Cottian* Alps. Theſe Alps appear from an *Iter* of the Romans, to have taken their commencement at Embrun; and from an intimation in Marcellinus, to have ended their courſe on this ſide of Suſa, at that Doria which flowed along the northern ſide of its walls, and ſeparated the Alps from Italy and it[w]. In the Tables therefore, juſt over the uniting line of the roads, that converge at Briancon to croſs the Cottian Alps together; is written expreſsly "the kingdom of Cottius[x]." He was a King, the ſon of a King, and the he-

the people about *Veines*, I ſuppoſe, to the weſt of Gap; *Ligures*, a tribe ſtill retaining the original name of all the Caturiges, who appear from Strabo (iv. 312) to have been all Ligurians, and lying towards Ventimiglia and the Ligurian ſea, I apprehend; *Montani*, thoſe who dwelt upon what are called the Great Alps, between the counties of Nice and Tenda; and *ſeveral* tribes of *Capilati*, probably *ſix*, and ſo with the others compoſing the *twelve* ſtates of Cottius's kingdom; theſe ſix lying about the paſs of *Cayolle*, but ſtretching thence to the neighbourhood of the ſea (Map in Berwick's Memoirs); and all the twelve, as the tribes under the ſway of Cottius and in alliance with Auguſtus, being equally "Latio donati," or admitted to the ſame privileges with the natives of Latium.

[w] Bertius, ii. 39. "Itinerarium a Burdigalâ Hieruſalem "uſque, Manſio Hebriduno, m. xvi. *Inde*," from the ſide of France, "*incipiunt* Alpes Cottiæ. Mutatio Rame," &c.; and Marcellinus, xv. 10. p. 100. "In his Alpibus Cottiis, quarum "*initium*" from the ſide of Italy, "a Seguſione eſt oppido."

[x] Second Segment, "Cotii regnum."

reditary Sovereign of the Caturiges aſſuredly; reſiding at their capital town of Charges, juſt below his own Alps; reaching out his ſcepter with their poſſeſſions, all over his own Alps from Embrun to Briancon, to Mount Genévre, and to the walls of Suſa; being in all probability the ſon of that very King, who engaged his own Caturiges, and combined with the Graioceli and the Centrones, to ſtop the march of Cæſar acroſs their reſpective dominions; and having himſelf probably, ſince the death of his father Donnus, reduced the Centrones under his own authority, as the Centrones had reduced the Graioceli before. We are alſo told by Marcellinus, that "King Cottius, after "the reduction of Gaule, alone lurked in his "faſtneſſes, and confided in the inacceſſible "roughneſs of his country; but at laſt, lowering "his pride, and being taken into friendſhip by "Octavianus the Prince, by way of a memorable "preſent he conſtructed along the Alps," with the men and officers undoubtedly that Auguſtus furniſhed to him, "roads of mighty bulk, ſhort, "and ſerviceable to travellers[y]." But this was not all that Cottius did, for civilizing his king-

[y] Marcellinus, xv. 10. p. 99-100. "Aggeribus cedit Alpium Cottiarum, quas Rex Cottius, perdomitis Galliis, "ſolus in anguſtiis latens, inviâque locorum aſperitate confiſus, "lenito tandem tumore in amicitiam Octaviani receptus Prin"cipis, molibus magnis extruxit ad vicem memorabilis mu"neris, compendiarias [vias], et viantibus opportunas."

dom

dom of mountains. He became a Roman in name, and introduced that proudeſt exertion of Roman civility, the architecture of Rome. He adopted the names of *Marcus* and *Julius*, thus enrolling himſelf as a Roman, and engrafting himſelf upon the imperial ſtock. He erected an arch of Roman workmanſhip in grateful honour of Auguſtus, at the entrance of his dominions from the Roman poſſeſſions, and cloſe to the Roman town of Suſa. This ſubſiſts to the preſent day, compoſed of large blocks of ſtone; that are put together without cement, and are ſuppoſed to be compacted internally with either iron or lead. It is a monument ſo curious and remarkable, that the Marquis Maffei, in a ſtrange extravagance of admiration, urged the King of Sardinia to have it removed and ſet up at Turin, and even wrote a treatiſe to ſhow the practicability of the plan[z]. It was on the Cottian ſide of the Doria, that boundary of the Cottian kingdom; and at the point in it, which leads up to *the paſs of Suſa* for Mount Genévre and for Mount Cenis. It was thus ſo near to the gates of Suſa, that the town having thruſt out a caſtle to the other ſide of the river, in order to ſecure this paſs the better, the arch is now in the gardens of the caſtle[a]. Marcellinus clearly points at this very monument, in thoſe words which have been ſo little underſtood

[z] Breval, i. 290. [a] Gentleman's Guide, 12.

hitherto; "the *ſepulcher* of this little king is very "near to the walls of Suſa[b]." In theſe he has been interpreted to notice a ſepulcher, which has been for ever inviſible ſince; and to omit a fine arch, which is an ornament to all the country. But the fact is, that the arch appears from this intimation in Marcellinus to be a ſepulchral one, like that at Pola in Iſtria[c]; and that thus the records of hiſtory are reconciled, with the remains of the day[d].

[b] Marcellinus, xv. 10. p. 109. "Hujus ſepulchrum re-"guli—Segueſione eſt moenibus proximum.

[c] Pococke, ii. part ii. 264, plate 103.

[d] Here let me add to what I have ſaid in two notes before, concerning the inſcriptions at Suſa and at Monaco; that I may guard others againſt ſome important miſtakes, made by travellers and antiquaries. Breval has confounded the inſcription upon the arch of Suſa, with that upon the trophy near Monaco; reciting the inſcription on the arch, and ſaying "it would "have been made out with great difficulty, being extremely "defaced, had not Pliny the Elder given it entire in his Nat. "Hiſt. lib. iii." (Second Travels, i. 291); while Pliny's inſcription is a very different one, and that upon the trophy at Monaco. The French author of "Religion des Gaulois," tom. i. liv. ii. chap. viii. ſays, that Pliny "parle de la reduc-"tion des peuples de l'Apennin," the Frenchman meaning the Alps though he calls them Apennines, "et—rapporte une "grande et longue inſcription," of which the Frenchman gives us the beginning, as it is actually written upon the trophy near Monaco; then refers to the reſt, and adds, "on voit des "traces de cette inſcription"—where, does the reader think? —upon the broken marbles that have fallen from the trophy? no! "ſur les *murs* de la ville de *Suſe*," or, as he ſhould have ſaid,

This then was the grand æra, of civility triumphing over the Alps; thoſe the loftieſt mountains in all the old world, being now reduced (as it were) to a level with the reſt of the globe; thoſe once dangerous faſtneſſes laid open, to the free intercourſe of ſociety; and the once formi-

ſaid, upon an *arch* near the walls of Suſa. Guichenon, another French author, in his Genealogical Hiſtory of the Houſe of Savoy, tom. i. liv. i. chap. iv. repeats the inſcription in Pliny, not as ſet up on the Monaco trophy, but as fixed on a *triumphal arch*, that was erected upon *the reduction of the Alpine nations*, not at Suſa, but at *Aoſta*. So very much have theſe three authors confounded thoſe monuments, and the inſcriptions on them! Smollet alſo has not attended to Pliny, when from Dalechamp, I ſuppoſe, one of the annotators upon this author, he ſays, Pliny is "miſtaken in placing this inſcription," that of the trophy near Monaco, "on a *trophy*," he means the arch, "near *Aoſta*" (i. 270); as Pliny fixes it expreſsly at no particular part of the Alps, only ſaying, "non alienum videtur, "hôc loco ſubjicere inſcriptionem è trophæo Alpium, quæ talis "eſt;" and as from his mention immediately before, of the "Ligures" and the "confinium Liguſtici maris," he indirectly places it near Monaco. But Miſſon has added another miſtake to all, when "'tis ſaid," he tells us, "that at *Suza*—there is a "triumphal arch —, and that the inſcription was engraved on "a plate of gold, of which one half is broken off;" and ſo gives, as from Mabillon, the very inſcription on *the trophy near Monaco* (i. 574-575, edit. 5th). Such a train of blunders committed by writers of the firſt name, concerning theſe arches and this trophy, I hope for the honour of literature, is not to be paralleled in the region of facts. Such *nebulous ſtars* in the firmament of antiquarianiſm particularly, if frequently occurring, would be ſo many blots in the Heavens, and reſign them generally up to the power of darkneſs,

dable robbers upon them, united in amity and peace with mankind. Accordingly Strabo informs us in general concerning the Alps and their roads, that "Auguſtus Cæſar, for the deſtruction "of the robbers, added ſuch a form of roads as "it was poſſible for him to make; for it was not "*poſſible every where to force nature, by break-* "*ing through huge rocks and down vaſt preci-* "pices, ſome overhanging the road, others fall- "ing down from it, ſo that, even on a ſlight ſtep "out of the track, the danger was unavoidable, "the fall being into bottomleſs hollows; and ſo "narrow is the way in ſome part of it, as to give "a giddineſs to thoſe who walk on foot along "it, both to men and to beaſts, if unuſed to it; "but the beaſts of the country carry burdens "along it ſafely: neither was this curable, nor "the vaſt plates of ice ſliding down from above, "that are capable of overwhelming a whole "company of travellers, and of puſhing forward "in one maſs into the hollows below; for many "plates are accumulated one upon another, the "ſnow being chryſtallized in ice upon ice; and "the ice on the ſurface being always looſened "eaſily from the ice below, before it is com- "pletely diſſolved in the ſun [e]." Such a truly formidable

[e] Strabo iv. 313-314. Προσεθηκε γαρ ο Σεβαστος Καισαρ, τη καταλυσει των ληστων, την κατασκευην των οδων οσην οιον τ' ην· ου γαρ δυνατον παντα χου βιασασθαι την φυσιν δια πετρων και κρημνων εξαισιων, των μεν

formidable deſcription have we here from the pen of an ancient, as equals that of any modern! So cuſtomary was it then for travellers, to paſs theſe mountains in companies or caravans, for fear of the robbers upon them; *till* "Auguſtus Cæſar, "for the deſtruction of the robbers, added ſuch "a form of roads as it was poſſible for him to "make!" Such were alſo the roads by which thoſe travellers croſſed the Alps, even after Auguſtus had cut down their rugged ſides, and levelled their emboſſed backs, by the conſtruction of theſe roads! We therefore find the armies of Rome afterwards, paſſing and repaſſing equally by the Cottian and by the Graian Alps; even ſo early as the days of Otho, Vitellius, and Veſpaſian [f].

In

μεν υπερκειμενων της οδου, των δ' υποπιπτοντων, ωστε και μικρον εκβαινειν, αφυκτον ειναι τον κινδυνον, εις φαραγγας αβυσσους τω πλωμαλιος οιος· ουτω δε εχει στενη καλα τι αυλου η οδος, ως' ιλυγγον φερειν τοις πεζη βαδιζουσι, και αυλοις και υποζυγιοις τοις απθεσι· τα δ' επιχωρια κομιζειν τους κολπους [read φορτους] ασφαλως. ουτ' ουν ταυτα ιασιμα, ουθ' αι καλουμεναι πλακες των κρυσταλλων ανωθεν εξαισιως, συνοδιαν ολην απολαμβανειν δυναμεναι, και συνεχωθειν εις τας υποπιπτουσας φαραγγας. πολλαι γαρ αλληλαις επικειμεναι πλακες, παγων επι παγοις γινομενων χιονος χρυσταλλοειδων, και των επ' επιπολης αει ραδιως απολυομενων απο των ενδος, πριν διαλυθηναι τελεως εν τοις ηλοις.

[f] Tacitus Hiſt. i. 61, during the inſurrection againſt Otho, "Vitellius duos duces, *duo itinera*, bello deſtinavit; Fulvius "Valens allicere, vel, ſi abnuerent, vaſtare, Gallias, et *Gotetianis Alpibus* Italiam irrumpere." Ibid. 87. "Cottiæ Alpes, et "*ſeteri Galliarum aditus*, Vitellianis exercitibus claudeban-

In that ſtate of the weſtern mountains, when they yet thruſt their big heads into the ſky, unſubdued by the civilizing hand of conqueſt, and untraverſed by roads of communication with the world below them; there *could* be no formed paſſage acroſs them from Gaule in the days of Hannibal, or even in the later days of Cæſar himſelf. At either of thoſe periods, the only paſſage from Gaule into Italy, was not in the weſtern Alps at all. It was in the NORTHERN, and near THE SPRINGS OF THE RHONE. We have a remarkable intimation in Appian's account of Pompey, and a ſtill more remarkable one in Cæſar's Memoirs of himſelf; that prove its exiſtence, and indicate its poſition, very plainly. Pompey, ſays Appian, being ordered againſt Sertorius in Spain about 150 years after Hannibal, "penetrated into the "Alpine mountains with a high ſpirit, and, "copying Hannibal's magnificence of action,

"tur." In ii. 66. "Legionem," which was ordered from Turin for Britain, "*Graiis Alpibus* traductam, *eo ſecu itineris* "ire jubet quo Viennam vitarent;" the town, to which we have ſeen the road of the Graian Alps directly tending before, and from which a branch here appears to have turned off on the right formerly, as we ſee one turning by Grenoble at preſent, to go *immediately* for Lyons (ſee Map of France in Maps for Mod. Un. Hiſt.). Hiſt. iv. 68, at the inſurrection againſt Vitellius, "Legiones Victrices Sexta et Octava, Vitel-"lianorum Una-et-Vicesima, è recens conſcriptis Secunda,— "*Cottianis* [Cottianis]—*Alpibus*, pars *Monte Graio*, tradu-"cuntur."

"formed

"formed a new route about the ſprings of the "Rhone and of the Po, which riſe out of the "*Alpine mountains not far from each other* [g]." This account is a little embarraſſed, by the too great *generality* of the author's language; but it ſhews us clearly the courſe of Hannibal, by the route of Pompey, through the Alps. Pompey copied Hannibal, and marched along his road. This was ABOUT THE SPRINGS OF THE RHONE AND OF THE Po; extending between them; and reaching from about the ſources of the Rhone upon one ſide of the northern Alps, to about the fountains of the Po on the other. This geographical deſignation, however general, is ſufficiently diſtinctive for our purpoſe; and proves the march of Hannibal to have been, in the tradition of Pompey and his cotemporaries, from the current of the Rhone near its riſe and much to the eaſt of Geneva, to the ſtream of the Po near its commencement and about the city of Turin. So well known by tradition was Hannibal's route, in the days of Pompey! This general, eminently illuſtrious at firſt, and ſtrikingly unfortunate afterwards; ſhining forth at firſt, as the brighteſt of ſtars in the political horizon of Rome, but overpowered and obſcured by a *ſun*, that aroſe ſuddenly, and threw

[g] Appian, p. 696. Ο δε ες τα Αλπεια ορη μετα φρονηματος ανηει, ου, κατα την Αννιβου μεταλουργιαν, ετεραν εχαρασσεν αμφι ταις πηγαις του τε Ροδανου και Ηριδανου, οι ανεσχουσι μεν εκ των Αλπειων ορων ου μακραν απ' αλληλων.

its

its veil of light over all the others; measured back the steps of Hannibal over the Alps, from about the rise of the Po to about the commencement of the Rhone. Then he equally reversed the march of Hannibal, by marching along the Rhone to Lyons, to Vienne, and to Lauriol; by there crossing the Rhone, like Hannibal; and so marching away for the Pyrenees. He thus "formed a *new* "route" for himself, *new* to the Romans who went into Gaule and Spain; he having declined the more direct route over the western Alps, and taken the circuitous road across the northern, because this was Hannibal's, and because he was proud to emulate Hannibal [h]. But Cæsar gives us

[h] Among the fragments of a general history by Sallust, we find a letter from Pompey to the senate, which has been accidentally preserved by Nonius, and seems to contradict this. In it, Pompey is made to write thus: "per eas [Alpes] iter "*aliud* atque Hannibal nobis opportunius patefeci" (Sallustii Opera Omnia, Glasgow, 1777, p. 278). But the sentence, as it now stands, is contradictory at once to Appian and to itself. It speaks of a road as made more wide and more commodious, yet does not notice positively what road this was. It notices the road only negatively, as *different from* Hannibal's. It thus speaks of the road as an unknown one, even while it intimates the road to have been made *more* wide and *more* commodious. Such contradictoriness neither Pompey, nor any man of common sense, could admit in a mere recital of facts done by the relator. The words therefore, we are sure, should be such as reconcile Pompey with himself and with Appian. A single word does this: "per eas *idem* atque Hannibal nobis oppor- "tunius patefeci." Pompey then says with Appian, that he pursued

us ſome additional and fuller information, concerning this road of Hannibal's and of Pompey's *over the Alps. At the end of his ſecond* campaign in Gaule, and about 170 years after Hannibal, he ſent a body of troops among the tribes, "that reach from the Lake of Geneva, and the "river Rhone, to the tops of the Alps[i]." What then was the object of this private expedition? Cæſar himſelf ſhall tell us. "His reaſon for ſend-"ing the troops was, becauſe he wanted to lay "open THE ROAD through the Alps, BY WHICH "ROAD THE MERCHANTS HAD BEEN USED TO TRA-"VEL, AT A GREAT RISK, AND WITH GREAT IM-"POSTS LAID UPON THEM[k]." Theſe words diſcloſe a very important fact to us. They ſhew us *the one only formed road* of the times, through the Alpine mountains. They ſhew it, as ſuch, *much travelled by the itinerant merchants* of the neighbouring regions. When there was only one formed road, between two countries ſo extenſive, induſtrious, and refined, as Italy had long been,

purſued the courſe of Hannibal over the Alps; that he widened it, which is what Appian means by his εχαρασσεν or "formed;" and that he thus rendered it more convenient for the Romans. With ſuch a double congruity in the new reading, we cannot heſitate a moment in adopting it.

[i] Bell. Gall. iii. i. p. 85. "A lacu Lemano, et flumine Rho-"dano, ad Summas Alpes pertinent."

[k] Ibid. "Cauſa mittendi fuit, quòd iter per Alpes, quo "itinere, magno cum periculo magniſque portoriis, merca-"tores ire conſueverant."

and

and Gaule was now beginning to be; it was ſure to be much travelled by the traders of both. Theſe had ſtrings of horſes or of mules, for the carriage of their goods. Theſe conveyed the commodities of either country, backwards and forwards, upon them. And thus was a conſiderable commerce maintained between the countries, along this ſingle and ſingular paſs.

All this coincides in a moſt extraordinary manner, with the movements of Hannibal at preſent. He goes not from his paſſage acroſs the Rhone, directly towards the Alps of Mount Genévre, that were viſibly rearing their cloud-capt heads before him. He knows there is no formed road over them. He therefore turns up the Rhone to Lyons. He knows alſo, that the only formed road over the Alps is at a great diſtance, on the northern ſide of the mountains, and near the riſe of the Rhone. He therefore turns not to the Alps of Little St. Bernard, that are equally riſing in *viſible darkneſs* on his right. He goes on from Lyons, ſtill mounting up the current of the Rhone, and intending to enter the road immediately from it. He knows both from his guides and attendants, the embaſſadours of the Gallick ſtates on the Po. This was the one only road, by which they themſelves had come to him at his paſſage acroſs the Rhone. This was the one only road,

as

as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [l], by which they, their anceſtors, and all the nations of Gaule that had gone to ſettle in Italy, had penetrated into it. This was the one only road, that is mentioned by Polybius as exiſting in his time; when he ſays he "had viewed the ſcenes of action, and had in "perſon travelled THE ROAD through the Alps, in "order to know and ſee [m]." This is for all theſe reaſons the very road, by which the embaſſadours promiſed at firſt to conduct him; towards which he has been ſome time moving, under their direction; and of which his hiſtorian Polybius again ſays, that it is "THE POINT OF ASCENT OVER THOSE "ALPS which LEAD INTO ITALY [n]."

— III. —

ON this principle, and with this view, Hannibal ſet out from Lyons for the Northern Alps. He ſtill marched along the banks of the Rhone. He meant to mount up towards the ſpring-head of it. He therefore turned now to the *right*; as now the Rhone makes a grand bend in its channel, and forms nearly a right angle with the

[l] Chap. iv. ſect. 6 and 7.

[m] Polybius iii. 280. Τους δε τοπους καθωπτευκεναι, και τη δια των Αλπεων αυλης κεχρησθαι πορειᾳ, γνωσεως ενεκα και θεας.

[n] Polybius iii. 44. Δια τουτων——ποιησουσι την εις Ιταλιαν πορειαν, and 39. την αναβολην των Αλπεων των εις Ιταλιαν.

lower

lower part of its courſe. He thus recovered that line of his movements at Lyons, which he had been obliged to deſert at his paſſage acroſs the Rhone. Having gained an altitude nearly ſufficient for the Alps which he intended to croſs, he now ſhaped his march directly towards them. He had the Rhone ſtill on his left, his companion and guide for the remaining, as it had been for the previous, part of his courſe.

Yet Livy, with that indiſtinctneſs of geographical viſion, which begins here to perplex his hiſtorical views, and which appears overſetting his hiſtorical ideas hereafter; deſcribes Hannibal at this point, as turning to the *left*. He, who noticed not his grand turn to the left at the paſſage acroſs the Rhone, though he ſends him *up* the current of the river; notices it by miſtake, at preſent. Hannibal, he ſays, on departing from the union of the Rhone and the Saone, "when "now *he went towards the Alps*, did *not take a di-* "*rect courſe towards them*, but *turned to the left* [a]." This intimation ſhould obviouſly have been given before, when Hannibal, as Livy then tells us, "the day after croſſing the Rhone, marched up "the current of the river, and advanced towards "the midland parts of Gaule, in a courſe tend-

[a] Livy xxi. 31. "Quum jam Alpes peteret, non rectâ re- "gione iter inſtituit, ſed ad lævam flexit."

"ing

" ing indirectly towards the Alps [p]." *Then* the obſervation would have been preciſely juſt, and *then* it was actually wanted. But *now* it is all unjuſt and impertinent. Hannibal *now* marched directly towards the Alps, and therefore turned *now* from the courſe which he had purſued before; no longer ranged up towards the north, but faced about to the eaſt. This alſo Livy himſelf ſhews us immediately afterwards, when he comes to give us, as he gives us very uſefully, ſome of *the national ſtages* of his advance. But he was not aware of his own contradictorineſs. He did not know his remarks, to be refuted by his facts. He copied faithfully the hiſtory, from the authorities before him at the moment; but knew the *localities* of the hiſtory, very imperfectly. He thus ſtands a memorable inſtance of erroneouſneſs, from the want of thoſe neceſſary auxiliaries to a narration.

Let me obſerve alſo a parallel kind of erroneouſneſs, in his brother-hiſtorian of the times, Polybius. This author, who has certainly been rated above his merit of late, by being placed, not merely ſuperiour to, but in actual ſuperſedence of, Livy for the hiſtory of Hannibal; has failed equally in his geography, at this period of

[p] Livy xxi. 31. " Poſtero die, profectus adverſâ ripâ Rho-
" dani," &c.

his narration. When Hannibal had crossed the Rhone, he says, he advanced "along the river, "leaving the sea behind him, marching *east-* "*wards*, and pushing, as it were, towards the "*midland* regions of *Europe*," that is, as if he was intending to penetrate into the heart of Germany [q]. These words are just as inapplicable to the *first* part of Hanibal's march up the Rhone, as Livy's are to the *second*. *Those* apply only to the *second*, and these to the *first* only. Nor was Polybius less confounded in his geography here, than Livy. The bed of the Rhone from the sea up to Lyons, is nearly right north and south. For this range of the channel therefore, Hannibal could not be said with any possible justness of geography, to march towards the east. But at Lyons it suddenly makes so great a bend, that Ptolemy has marked it for one of the memorable incidents of the river, and gives us even the longitude and latitude of it. "The point of the "river at Lyons," he says, "at which *it turns to-* "*wards the Alps*, 23-0, 54-15; that part of it "which is at the lake called Lemane, 27-15, "45-15; the spring of the river, 28-20, 44-20 [r]." From this bend therefore, and only from this, does the channel of the Rhone take an eastern

[q] Polybius iii. 47. Παρα τον ποταμον κ. τ. λ.

[r] Ptolemy ii. 10 miscalled 5. p. 54. Η υπο Λουγδουνον του ποταμου προς τας Αλπεις επιστροφη, κγ, μι δ· το κατα λιμνην αυτου μερος την καλουμενην Λιμενην, κζ δ, μι . . . η πηγη του ποτ. κη γ, μδ γ.

direction,

direction, to those who mount up its current. And as this instance of inaccuracy in Polybius, forms a parallel to the other in Livy, and is indeed more culpable in Polybius than the other is in Livy, because the former actually travelled into Gaule and seems to have even visited Lyons, for the sake of local information; so both unite to shew the advantages, which we moderns have over the ancients by the aid of maps.

But Livy is much more useful than Polybius, in the immediate progress of the narration; and tells us, that Hannibal from Lyons "turned into "the country of the TRICASTINI[s]." This is a nation of Gauls, mentioned by several writers. They inhabited from the Rhone on the north, along the back of the Allobroges of Vienne, and of the Segalauni of Valence, to St. Paul on the south. Of the Allobroges we are told by Ptolemy, that "their city Vienne is in the middle of their "dominions[t]." "Below these," he adds, "more "westerly," that is, lower down the Rhone, which he apprehends (as we have just seen before) to run east and west in its general course, "are "the Segalauni, whose city is Valentia Colo-"nia[u]." "More easterly," he goes on to say,

[s] Livy xxi. 31. "In Tricastinos flexit."

[t] Ptolemy ii. 10. p. 55. Ουιεννα.

[u] Ibid. ibid. Ουαλεντια Κολωνια.

and means higher up the Rhone, "are the *Tricaſ-* "*tini*, whoſe city is Neomagus[v]." This town of theirs was alſo called "Auguſta Tricaſtinorum;" and ſtill preſerves a faint memorial of its pre-eminence, in ſtill retaining the name of its nation, and calling itſelf St. Paul *Tricaſtin*[w]. The Tricaſtini therefore inhabited in a long and narrow portion of land, between the Allobroges of Vienne and the Segalauni of Valence, on the weſt, and another nation, which I ſhall mention immediately, on the eaſt; being headed by the Rhone on the north, and having their capital low to the ſouth-weſt.

But, as Livy next adds, Hannibal went from them "along the extreme border of the land of "the VOCONTII[x]." This was a tribe, which

[v] Ibid. ibid. Ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ Τρικασσῖνοι, ὧν πόλις Νεμαῦσος.

[w] Pliny iii. 4. "In agro Cavarum," who are here made the ſame with the Segalauni of Ptolemy, while Ptolemy himſelf diſtinguiſhes the one tribe from the other (ii. 10. p. 55), and who are therefore only the inhabitants of the ſame region, one being conquerours and the other conquered, "Valentia; "Vienna Allobrogum; Oppida Latina,—Auguſta Tricaſtino- "rum." Valeſius remarks in a note upon Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 101, "manet etiamnum Tricaſtinorum appellatio in "Delfinatu noſtro." The name of *Tricaſtin*, however, is popularly diſfigured into that of *Trois-Chateaux*. See alſo D'Anville 120-121.

[x] Livy xxi. 31. "Inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum "agri tetendit."

equally

equally lay in a long and narrow braid, ſtretching at the back of the Tricaſtini; had equally the Rhone for their boundary on the north; and equally had their capital low to the ſouth. The Vocontii, ſays Pliny, "have two capitals, Vaſco "[Vaſio]" or Vaiſon near Orange, and "Lucus "Auguſti" appropriated hereafter[y]. "The "capital of the Vocontii," adds Mela, "is "Vaiſon[z]." A Roman *Iter*, inverted, gives us theſe names in ſucceſſion; "*Viennam* ....., "Urſolim, m. p. xxvi, *Valentiam*, m. p. xxii, "*Auguſtam*, m. p. xxii," *Aouſte* on the lower part of the river Drome, "DEAM VOCONTIORUM, "m. p. xxiii," DIE on the ſame river, "LUCUM, "m. p. xii," LUC on the ſame river[a]. Peutinger's Tables give us equally theſe; "*Tegna* ....," *Tein* on the Rhone, betwixt Vienne and Valence, famous for the diſcovery of a curious monument of Roman antiquity[b]; "*Valentia* xxii, *Auguſtum* "xiii," *Aouſte*, "Ad DEAM BOCONTIORUM xii," DIE, "LUCO xviii," LUC[c]. But, becauſe the Vocontian dominions extended from the Rhone in the north to Luc and Die in the ſouth, Livy

[y] Pliny iii. 4. "Vocontiorum, civitatis foederatæ, duo ca-"pita, Vaſco et Lucus Auguſti. See D'Anville 423.

[z] Mela ii. 5. "Vaſio Vocontiorum."

[a] Itin. p. 22, and D'Anville 116-117, 422-423.

[b] Hiſtoire de la Ville de Lyon i. 101 and 129, and Breval's Second Travels ii. 132.

[c] Second ſegment.

ſays of Hannibal as he ranged along the Rhone, that he kept only upon the *extremity* of this diſtrict.

From theſe he advanced, as Livy additionally informs us, "into the region of the TRICORII[d]." This is a tribe, of which we have an equal mention in three other writers of antiquity. Strabo ſpeaks of it repeatedly, and always places it cloſe to the Vocontii, above the Cavares of Avignon, Cavaillon, and Orange[e]. It is again noticed by Pliny, and with greater circumſtantiality of poſition, thus: "off from the ſea," a note of poſition that peculiarly accords with the intimation in Polybius, of Hannibal's leaving the ſea behind him when he marched along the river, "the country "of the *Tricorii*, and *within* them that of the Tri-"colli," a branch of the Tricorii aſſuredly, "the "region of the Vocontii, and the region of the "Segovellauni," the ſame with the Segalauni of Ptolemy[f]; then the "region of the Allobroges[g]." Appian alſo ſpeaks of them, and with ſtill more of local circumſtantiality, when he ſays that

[d] Livy xxi. 31. "Tetendit in Tricorios."

[e] Strabo iv. 318. Μετα δε Ουοκοντιους Σαλυοι, και Τρικοριοι; p. 282. Ουοκοντιοι και Τρικοριοι.

[f] Ptolemy ii. 10. p. 55.

[g] Pliny iii. 4. "Rurſus, a mari, Tricoriûm [regio], et "intus Tricollorum, Vocontiorum, et Segovellaunorum, mox "Allobrogum."

Cæſar

Cæſar defeated the Helvetii, "and the *Tricorii* "aſſiſting them[h];" a ſuggeſtion, that fixes the Tricorii in the immediate vicinity of the Helvetii, and in the very neighbourhood of Geneva. The Tricorii thus appear to have lain with their heads to the Rhone, at the back of the Vocontii, and towards Geneva; but extending in length, towards Cavaillon and Orange in the ſouth. They poſſeſſed the region probably, between the Arve of Geneva and the Sier at Seyſſel, the preſent Dutchy of Geneva. The Vocontii as probably poſſeſſed the country, from the Sier back to the Guier or Yere at St. Genis and Pont Beauvoiſin; the preſent Dutchy of Savoy. The Tricaſtini, of courſe, owned the lands from thence to Lyons. And all lay extending from theſe their reſpective poſſeſſions upon the north, in three long waves, as it were, one behind the other, down the narrow length of Dauphiny[i].

Theſe three tribes however, though diſtinguiſhed by particular names, are all included in the general appellation of Allobroges, with the Gauls of Lyons and with the Gauls of Vienne. Thoſe of Vienne retained their generical name as a ſpecific one, to the laſt. Thoſe of Lyons, too,

[h] Appian in Celticis ii. 92. Καὶ Τρικαυρους ομωνυμίας σφισιν.

[i] D'Anville is wonderfully puzzled and perplexed, in ſettling theſe tribes. See his "Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule," and his "Gallia Antiqua" in his maps.

are frequently denominated Allobroges. So Livy tells us concerning the iſland at Lyons; that "near it," meaning on Mount Fourviere at one end of it, where the capital town was at the time, "inhabit the *Allobroges*, a nation, from that time "to this, inferiour to none in Gaule for reputa- "tion or for power, but then in a civil war[k]." Yet, when he ſpeaks of them as ſo very conſide- rable, he confounds them with the whole body of the Allobroges. But, when he notices their civil war, he refers to them only as a part of the whole. The Seguſiani Allobroges were always inconſiderable, having only two or three towns, Lyons, Rohane, Feurs, &c.[l]. They alone like- wiſe were in a civil war, at the time of Hannibal's viſit to them. Strabo alſo makes the ſame con- fuſion, when he aſcribes the actions of *all* the Al- lobroges to two of their tribes, the Allobroges Proper of Vienne and the Allobroges Seguſiani of Lyons. "Near to Vienne," he ſays, "is Lyons, "where the Arar and the Rhone unite together; "and there are about two hundred ſtadia to it by "land through the country of the *Allobroges*, by "ſailing up the river a little more: *the Allobroges, "formerly indeed, brought many myriads into the*

[k] Livy xxi. 31. "Incolunt propè Allobroges, gens jam "inde nullâ Gallicâ gente opibus aut famâ inferior; tum diſ- "cors erat."

[l] Ptolemy ii. 8. p. 52.

"*field,*"

"*field*[m]." As to the other three tribes, that form this line of little nations; they are expreſsly called Allobroges by Cæſar. Once indeed, when he made his march acroſs the Alps into Dauphiny, "he came into the country of the Vocontii" near Grenoble, he tells us, "thence into the region of "the *Allobroges*" near Vienne, and "from the "*Allobroges* he carries his army among the *Segu-* "*ſiani*[n]." He here ſpeaks of the Proper Allobroges, we ſee, as diſtinct from the Seguſiani; but afterwards comprehends them both, under the general appellation of Allobroges. "Betwixt "the countries of the *Helvetii* and the *Allobroges*," he ſays, "*flows the Rhone* —; the *fartheſt* town of "the *Allobroges*, and the neareſt to the borders of "the *Helvetii*, is GENEVA: from that town a "bridge reaches to the *Helvetian* territories[o]." He thus extends the Allobroges up the Rhone,

[m] Strabo iv. 282. Πλησιον δ' υπερκειται της Ουϊεννης το Λουγδουνον, αφ' ου συμμισγουσιν αλληλοις ο τε Αραρ και ο Ροδανος· γαδιοι δ' εισιν επ' αυτο, πεζῃ μεν περι σ δια της Αλλοβρογων, αναπλῳ δε μικρῳ πλειους. Αλλοβρογες δε μυριασι πολλαις, προτερον μεν, εστρατευον.

[n] Bell. Gall. i. 10. p. 12. "In fines Vocontiorum—perve- "nit, inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Seguſianos "exercitum ducit."

[o] Bell. Gall. i. 6. p. 7. "Helvetiorum inter fines et Allo- "brogum,—Rhodanus fluit —; extremum oppidum Allobro- "gum eſt, proximumque Helvetiorum finibus, Geneva: ex "eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet."

in a ſerpentine form all the way from Vienne to Geneva [p].

For this reaſon it was, that the lately-reſtored King of Lyons reſolved to accompany Hannibal, in his future march through the country; and actually formed his rearguard for the whole route. He had not *ſtrength* ſufficient, to *protect* a Hanni-

[p] The name of Allobroges, then, is neceſſarily *Celtick*. Yet, to our great ſurprize, we ſee a writer, lively, ingenious, and knowing, in a ſtrange paroxyſm of fancy interpreting it as an *Engliſh* one. "*Allobroges* or *Allaboroughs* as I call them," ſays Mr. Pownall, p. 146, "*All-boroughs*, or *republic of bo-*"*roughs*, called by the Romans *pagi*," a word, which, in the Roman application of it to the Gauls of Helvetia, actually ſignifies provinces, not towns, as "omnis civitas Helvetia," ſays Cæſar, "in quatuor *pagos* diviſa eſt" (Bell. Gall. i. 12. p. 14). Thus Dugdale, I remember, ſuggeſts the appellation of the river Tame in Warwickſhire, to be derived from its *tameneſs*; though it is equally the name of the "Rex Fluviorum" of Britain. But the Allobroges formed no republic of *boroughs* at all. Their name is merely *Gallo-briges* or *Gallo-broges* in reality; as we have the *Brig*-antes for a Britiſh tribe in the north of England, even Belgæ *Allobroges* for another in the ſouth, and *Brogue* for the Britiſh language in Ireland. But, to a writer who knows not Britiſh, every original name among us is Engliſh; and, to an Engliſhman who is a *patriot*, every government is republican. Yet *this* frenzy of freedom and *that* ignorance of languages, have ſurely mounted to their "higheſt "noon" together; when a name, importing only the nation to be Gauls, is made to prove them a *republic*, and a republic of *boroughs* too.

bal

bal againſt *ſerious* and *formal* attacks. He had only a deſire, by his preſence and power to repreſs any attempts of parties againſt him. The Carthaginians had marched already, through the country of the Proper Allobroges; and had there probably received ſome inſults upon their rear. They would therefore be apprehenſive of the ſame again, from the brother-tribes of the Allobroges beyond. Theſe can be the only grounds for that intimation, which Polybius very weakly, as very vaguely, gives us; of their "being in a ſtate of "apprehenſiveneſs, becauſe of their march "through the country of the Gauls denominated Allobroges[q]." To guard againſt theſe, could be the only inducement for Brancus to offer, and for Hannibal to accept, the attendance of this petty king and of his petty hoſt upon the army. And, what fixes the point for ever, action being the beſt aſcertainer of opinion; Brancus took not poſt with his troops in the van of the Carthaginians, accompanied them not upon their flanks, but followed only in their *rear*[r]. Thus attended and thus guarded, Hannibal received not a ſingle inſult upon his preſent march. He went through the country of the Tricaſtini, from the grand angle of the Rhone at Lyons, to

[q] Polybius iii. 49. Ευλαβως διακειμενοις προς την δια των Αλλοβρογων καλουμενων Γαλατων πορειαν.

[r] Polybius iii. 49. Απουραγησας μαλα της σφετερας δυναμεως.

the

the deep indent of it at St. Genis; here quitted France, and entered Savoy. He ranged along the limits of the Vocontian dominions, from this indent to the Sier. He paſſed alſo through the region of the Tricorii, up to the town and lake of Geneva. But he met not with the ſmalleſt annoyance, all the way [s].

The road too was not rough and mountainous. It "did not embrraſs him," ſays Livy [t]. It was "over an open and level country," adds he who ſingularly poſſeſſed the farm of Virgil near Naples, and inhabited the houſe of Tully at Baiæ, the poet of Spain in the reign of Nero, Silius Italicus, "or through cultivated fields [u]." It was, ſubjoins Polybius, "for ten days along the river, and over a plane country [v]." It was therefore along the eaſy margin of the Rhone.

— IV. —

HANNIBAL indeed met only with one difficulty in it, and that not from the road itſelf. This

[s] Polybius iii. 49. Ασφαλη παρισκευασε την διοδον αυτοις.

[t] Livy xxi. 31. "Haud uſquam impeditâ viâ, priuſquam," &c.

[u] Silius Italicus:

Jamque Tricaſtinis incedit finibus agmen,
Jam faciles campos, jam rura Voconcia, carpit.

[v] Polybius iii. 50. Εν ημεραις δεκα—παρα τον ποταμον—εν τοις πεδιοις.

aroſe

aroſe merely from a river, which Livy calls the DRUENTIA[w]; which the critical world has therefore with a ſimplicity of faith, that is founded only on a deluſive *ſymphony* of names, believed to be the *Durance* of Avignon, Embrun, and Briançon; and which will appear demonſtrably from what I ſhall alledge, to be merely the ARVE of Geneva. Folard, who, with all his cotemporaries and all his predeceſſors, was perſuaded it was the Durance, and ſo found himſelf compelled to bring Hannibal over the latter; has therefore brought him over it at Briançon, to croſs Mount Genévre; and yet abuſes his compeller Livy in the act, for deſcribing that as a formidable river, which he ſays is only "a filament of water" there[x]. M. de St. Simon alſo, finding himſelf equally compelled to convey his hero acroſs the Durance, but willing to avoid the ſtrange abuſe of that very hiſtorian whom he thinks he is following, has turned and twiſted the whole hiſtory into a maſs of abſurdity; by carrying Hannibal as far as Vienne to eſcape from the Romans, then

[w] Livy xxi. 31. "Priuſquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit."

[x] "'Il eſt,'" dit-il, "'*peu raiſonnable* dans la deſcription 'qu'il [Livy] fait de cette marche.—Il l'eſt encore *moins* dans 'le paſſage de la Durance, qui n'eſt qu'*un fort petit ruiſſeau*; 'car *pour rendre ſa narration plus recommendable*, il a eu recours *à la fiction* et *au merveilleux*, et *a fait une grande et impetueuſe riviere* d'*un filet d'eau*.'" St. Simon's preface xvii.

inſtantly

inſtantly turning him back in defiance of them, and fording the Durance with him below Embrun; where indeed it is more than a filament of water, but where it is not yet a formidable river [y]. So nearly double is the whole backbone of the hiſtory bent, by the violence of this folly! The current that Hannibal now croſſed, ſays Livy, "is itſelf an Alpine river, and by far the moſt "difficult to be croſſed of any of the rivers in "Gaule; as, though it brings down a great "body of water, it is yet incapable of bearing "any veſſels upon it; being confined by no "banks, flowing in ſeveral channels at once, "and thoſe different at different times; forming "therefore new fords and new eddies, and ſo "rendering the paſſage uncertain even for "wading; rolling down, beſides, fragments of "rock that grind into gravel, and, in conſe-"quence of this, leaving no ſure or ſteady foot-"ing for the forder [z]." That this circumſtantial de-

[y] Preface xx. "Annibal arrive à la Durance ſans obſtacle; "cette riviere deſcend d'Embrun à Siſteron; c'eſt donc entre "ces deux villes, qui ſe trouvent à la droite et à la gauche de "la route des Carthaginois, qu'il faut chercher la place à la-"quelle ils arrivent. La direction de la marche conduit à la "Bréoule, ou fort pres." What this direction is made by M. de St. Simon, his map preſumes to ſhew, but his preface is aſhamed to tell.

[z] Livy xxi. 31. "Is eſt ipſe Alpinus amnis, longè omnium "Galliæ fluminum difficillimus tranſitu eſt. Nam, quum "aquæ

deſcription was meant for the Arve, under the name of Druentia; is evident, not merely from the courſe of the hiſtory, but from the nature of the Arve, and from the teſtimony of Strabo, both combining into one with that.

The Druentia, ſays Livy, "though it brings "down a great body of water,—is yet incapable "of bearing any veſſels upon it." The *Durance* we know to have been actually navigated by the Romans. We have an inſcription at Arles, that particularly notices "the *ſailors* of the *Durance*," and even ſpecifies (what is very extraordinary in every view, what ſhows *the leathern boats* of Britain to have been common to the inhabitants of Gaule, what proves the preſent *coracles* of our own Severn to have been uſed by the Romans upon the *Durance*) "the *coracle men* of the town "of Orgon" upon it[a]. Yet the Arve has never been made navigable, from the days of Hannibal to the preſent. "We ſhould gain a great part

"aquæ vim vehat ingentem, non tamen navium patiens eſt; "quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus ſimul neque iiſdem alveis "fluens, nova ſemper vada novoſque gurgites faciens, et, ob "eadem, pediti quoque incerta via eſt; ad hæc, ſaxa glareoſa "volvens, nihil ſtabile nec tutum ingredienti præbet." Marcellinus, in his great confuſion about the geography, places this Druentia on the Italian ſide of the Alps (xv. 10. p. 101-102).

[a] Thickneſſe's Travels ii. 15. "Patrono nautar. Druen-"ticorum et utriculariorum corp. Ernaginenſium."

" of this useful production," says M. Saussure concerning Geneva and a coal mine, " if the " Government would permit the Arve to be ren- " dered navigable; for the expence of convey- " ance is too great, by the ordinary carriage[b]." Or, as he expresses himself in another place concerning a quarry, " the stones of it would find a " good market at Geneva, if the conveyance of " them could be facilitated, by permitting the " Arve to be made navigable[c]." So " incapable " of bearing any vessels upon it," does the Arve *yet* remain; while the Durance has been navigated *these fifteen hundred years!* The Druentia, adds Livy, is " confined by no banks, flows in " several channels at once, and those different " at different times." At Sallanche in an early part of the Arve's course, remarks M. Saussure, " we cannot but regret, while we are taking this " route, the quantity of ground which the over- " flowings of the Arve render useless, especially " if we reflect how valuable is arable land in a " mountainous country. The bottom of the " valley is so flat, that with a little overflow in

[b] Saussure ii. 179. " On tireroit un grand parti de cette " utile production, si le gouvernement vouloit permettre la " navigation de l'Arve; car, par les voitures ordinaires, les " frais de transport sont trop considerables."

[c] Saussure ii. 202. " Ces ardoises seroient d'un grand de- " bit à Geneve, si l'on en facilitoit le transport en permettant " la navigation de l'Arve."

" the river the waters inundate it entirely; even " in the ordinary ſtate of the river, they cover a " great part of it, and the ſlighteſt obſtacle *makes* " *them change their bed, almoſt from one day to an-* " *other*: if *it were poſſible* to *confine them by banks* " *to a certain channel*, near *a league ſquare of land* " *would be gained* [d]." The Druentia, ſubjoins Livy, " rolls down fragments of rock that grind " into gravel, and, in conſequence of this, leave " no ſure or ſteady footing for the forder." As we come out of Bonneville, notes M. Sauſſure concerning the Arve in a lower part of its current, " we croſs the Arve upon a bridge of ſtone, long " and narrow; and we enter into a valley, which " has all the features of the grand vallies of the " Alps. The bottom of this valley, perfectly " horizontal, is ſoaked with the waters of the " Arve and of brooks that fall into it;—and the " valley itſelf is about three leagues in length " from Bonneville to Cluſe:—wherever the earth " is opened, we ſee the bottom is *ſand diſpoſed in*

[d] Sauſſure ii. 202. " On regrette, en faiſant cette route, la " quantité de terrein que les debordemens de l'Arve rendent " inutile, ſurtout ſi l'on reflechit combien les terres arables " ſont precieuſes dans ces pays montueux. Le fond de la val- " lée eſt ſi plat, que pour peu que la riviere ſe deborde, elle " l'inonde en entier; même dans les tems ordinaires, elle en " couvre une grande partie, et le moindre obſtacle lui fait " changer de lit, preſque d'un jour à l'autre: ſi l'on pouvoit, " par un digue, la contenir dans un lit permanent, on y gag- " neroit preſqu' une lieue quarrée de terrein."

" *hori-*

" *horizontal beds*, mixed alternately at times *with* " *beds of gravel and of boulder-ſtones*. The nature " of the land and the perfect level of the ſurface " in this valley, demonſtrate the bottom to be " formed *by an accumulation of depoſits from the Arve*, " and this river, or the current which anciently " occupied its place, to have been *much higher* " *than it is at preſent*, becauſe *it muſt have filled the* " *whole of that valley*, of which it occupies only " a ſmall part at preſent. As we go on towards " Cluſe,—the Arve, by approaching the moun- " tains on the right, forces the road to paſs over " *the rubbiſh accumulated at the foot of thoſe mountains.* " This rubbiſh is moſtly *calcareous*,—for *the moun-* " *tains all around are wholly calcareous*[a]." Livy's " frag-

[a] Sauſſure ii. 146-148. " En ſortant de la Bonne-Ville, on " traverſe l'Arve ſur un pont de pierre, long et etroit, et l'on " entre dans une vallée, qui a tous les caracteres des grandes " vallées des Alpes.—Le fond de cette vallée, parfaitement " horiſontal, abreuvé des eaux de l'Arve et des ruiſſeaux qui " s'y jettent, eſt" &c. " La longueur de la Bonne-Ville à " Cluſe eſt d'environ trois lieues;—partout où la terre eſt " ouverte, on voit que le fond eſt du ſable diſpoſé par lits ho- " riſontaux, qui alternent quelquefois avec des lits de gra- " vier et de cailloux roulés. La nature de ce terrain, et le " nivellement parfait de la ſurface, de la vallée, demontrent " que ce fond a eté formé par l'accumulation des dépôts de " l'Arve; et que cette riviere, ou le courant qui occupoit an- " ciennement ſa place, a eté beaucoup plus haute qu'elle n' " eſt aujourd'hui, puiſqu'elle a du remplir la totalité de la val- " lée, dont elle n'occupe aujourd'hui qu'une très-petite par- " tie.

" fragments of rock" then, " which grind into gra-" vel" in his Druentia, are anſwered exactly by the calcareous fragments in the Arve; that eaſily grind into gravel by their conflict with each other, under the agitations of a turbulent torrent; that have actually covered a large valley all over with ſand, gravel, and boulder-ſtones; and, in their ſtate of ſolidity and maſſineſs, muſt neceſſarily " leave no ſure or ſteady footing for the " ſorder." So faithfully is the Druentia of Livy reflected by the Arve of Geneva, in all the grand and characteriſtic features of it!

But as I conſider this diſcovery of the Arve in the Druentia, to be one of the leading points for my full correction of the prevailing errours, and for my full inveſtigation of the real route, in the hiſtory of Hannibal; let me with a kind of parental fondneſs dwell a little longer upon it, and prove my point again from Strabo. At the grand Glaciere of Mount Blanc, near the ſouthern end of of it, is a pike denominated Aiguille de Glacier; and on the ſouthern ſide of this is *a lake of water*, large enough to be marked conſpicuouſly in a moderately ſized map of the environs of the

" tie. La route que l'on ſuit en allant à Cluſe," &c. " En-" ſuite l'Arve, en s' approchant des montagnes de la droite, " force la route à paſſer ſur les débris accumulés au pied de ces " montagnes. Ces débris ſont pour la plupart calcaires—; " car les montagnes d'alentour ſont toutes calcaires."

mount, and noticed, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, by Strabo. About four miles to the weſt of this, and on a level called Plan des Dames, riſes a rivulet, that Strabo (as we ſhall equally ſee) conſiders to be the conſtituent current of the Arve. About the ſame diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt is Little St. Bernard, on which commences another rivulet, that Strabo equally conſiders to be the original ſtream of the Doria of Aoſta[f]. *That* current is called *Le Tonant*; as if the Arve began ſo early in its courſe, to challenge the character which Strabo ſpeedily gives it, to ruſh and roar and imitate the ſound of thunder. It runs down the long Val de Montjoye, carrying the waters of two brooks from the Glaciere, and receiving at Paſſy what is *now* conſidered as the conſtituent ſtream of the Arve, from Chamouni and Col de Balme[g]. At this point of union, where the Romans have ſurpriſingly left us ſome memorials of a town of theirs, correſponding with another of their towns at the head of this Val de Montjoye, and juſt above the ſpring of the Le Tonant[h]; the Arve breaks

[f] Map prefixed to vol. iii. of Sauſſure.

[g] Ibid. ibid.

[h] The Romans had a road into the Alps, which went from Geneva to Paſſy, and from Paſſy to the hill juſt beyond Plan des Dames, called Le Bonhomme; and which fell into the road for Little St. Bernard, at St. Maurice (Nouvelle Deſcription, Generale, et Particuliere, des Glacieres, &c. par M. Bourrit, Chantre de l'Egliſe Cathedrale de Geneve, et Penſionnaire du Roi de France. Nouvelle edition, à Geneve, 1785. tom. iii. 237).

breaks from its native home among theſe devious parts of the Alps, and begins to ſhow all that vigour and vehemence which we ſhall ſee Strabo attributing to it. At Sallenche, a little below, a fine bridge of black marble, and of only one arch, was thrown down by its inundations in the November of 1778 [i]. Lower in the current, and on the way along its banks from Cluſe to Sallenche, "the Arve, which at ſome points" of the valley "appears to have hardly room enough for "itſelf alone, ſeems alſo willing to diſpute the way "with a traveller; and comes *throwing itſelf im-* "*petuouſly* againſt him, as if to prevent him from "mounting up to its ſource [k]." When the bridge of Sallenche felt its fury, *all the country as low as Cluſe was covered with its ſands,* and appeared in a ruined condition for ſome time afterwards [l]. "The "poſition of Sallenches," we are told, "ought to "be very fine, if it be true that the bottom of "the valley was once a lake; tradition ſays it "was, and every thing ſeems to render the tra-"dition credible, becauſe the bottom is ſtill in "great part overwhelmed with the Arve: the

237). The remains at Paſſy are two inſcriptions in marble, both to Mars, and one to Mars *Auguſtus* (iii. 24). Thoſe at Le Bonhomme are actual coins: "on a trouvé ſur cette ſom-"mité des médailles des premieres empereurs" (iii. 233).

[i] Sauſſure ii. 195.

[k] Sauſſure ii. 167. "Elle vient ſe jetter impetueuſement," &c.

[l] Bourrit iii. 23.

" lake muſt have been two leagues long, and " one broad [m]." The tradition of the paſt, and the appearance of the preſent, ſhow it to have been really a lake, the bottom of which has been gradually raiſed by the very depoſits of the Arve, till the ground has ſwelled in many parts above the ordinary level of the waters, and is only overflowed occaſionally at preſent. A torrent, like the Arve, deſcending impetuouſly from the mountains, and ſpreading out into a lake in a valley, would inſtantly reſign up all the plunder of all the hills, and enrich the valley with its ſpoils. This it would do upon all the parts of the valley remote from its current, even though it was ravaging its very channel at the time; and thus heighten the level of the valley, while it was deepening the bed of the current. Theſe two powers, however contrary in their nature, yet acting in confederacy together, have plainly effected the change [n]. The Arve afterwards puſhes along

[m] Bourrit iii. 19. " La poſition de Salanches devoit etre " tres-belle, s'il eſt vrai qu'autrefois le fond de la vallée fut " un lac, on le dit, et tout ſemble le faire croire, puiſque ce " deux lieues de long, ſur une de large."

[n] I have made this remark, to ſweep away the wild hypotheſis of M. Sauſſure before concerning this very valley, of ſome river *more ancient than this* occupying the channel of the Arve, and being *higher in its bed* to float the whole valley. But, in ii. 141-142, he has carried this hypotheſis to a ſtill higher point of wildneſs. He there finds a hill and the mountain Môle, abraded

along in a ſonorous torrent, chill and turbid, unruly in its courſe, frequently overflowing its banks, and laying waſte a great part of the valley in its way to Geneva[a]. And how exactly does all this accord with the deſcription in Strabo! "Behind the Vocontii," cries this geographer concerning this part of the Alps, "are the Si-"conii and the Tricorii, as behind them are the "Medoali upon the loftieſt heights; the moſt "direct altitude of theſe indeed, is ſaid to be a "hundred ſtadia," or twelve miles and a half, "in aſcent; and *thence again is the deſcent*" down Little St. Bernard, "*to the very boundaries of Italy:* "above, in ſome hollow places, is *a great lake* "*extending*, and there are *two ſprings* not *very far* "*from each other*; from *one* of which is the DRU-"ENTIUS," the very ſame with the Druentia of

abraded at the baſe by the current of the Arve. The common-ſenſe of experience ſhows this agent, to be very competent to any abraſions whatever. Yet philoſophy, and the philoſophy of phyſics eſpecially, runs away often from the ſun of common-ſenſe to the dark holes and corners of erudition. M. Sauſſure has recourſe again to his *ancient currents*. "Il me "paroit bien vraiſemblable," he ſays, "que les eſcarpemens, "et de cette colline, et des bas du Mole au-deſſus de l'Arve, "ont eté produits, *non* par *cette riviere telle qu'elle eſt aujourd'-"hui*, mais par d'*anciens courans beaucoup plus conſiderables*, "et *qui ſuivoient a-peu-pres la même direction*."

[a] Breval's Second Travels ii. 117, Keyſler i. 222 and 224 (tranſlated from the German, edit. 3d, 1760), Coxe's Travels in Switzerland 319 and 60, and Moore's View of Society in France, &c. i. 203-204.

Livy, "a river *furrowing up the ground*, as it *ruſhes* "*violently to the Rhone*; and the *Durias* is on the "*other* ſide, *for* it mixes with the *Po*, being car- "ried *through the country of the Salaſſi into Ciſalpine Gaule*[p]." This quadrates very accurately with all, that I have ſaid of the Arve; and forms a full demonſtration of itſelf, that the Arve was actually denominated the Druentia or Druentius by the Romans[q].

Having now ſettled the identity of the river, I proceed with the thread of the hiſtory concerning it. The Druentia or Arve, as Livy adds, "being "accidentally ſwelled with rains, cauſed a con- "ſiderable diſorder among the ſoldiers of Han-

[p] Strabo iv. 312. Μετα δε Ουοκοντιους Σικονιοι και Τρικορσιοι, και μετ' αυτους ηδοαλοι υπερ τας υψηλοτατας εχουσι κορυφας· το γουν ορθιωτατον αυτων υψος, σταδιων εκατον εχειν φασιν την αναβασιν· καιτοιγε παλιν την επι τους ορους τους της Ιταλιας καταβασιν. Ανω δ', εν τισι κοιλοις χωριοις, λιμνη τε συνιστασθαι μεγαλη, και πηγαι δυο ου πολυ απωθεν αλληλων· ων εκ μεν της ετερας εστιν ο Δρουεντιος, ποταμος χαραδρωδης, ως επι τον Ροδανον καταφερομενος· και ο Δουριας εις ταναντια, την γαρ Παδον συμμισγει, καταενεχθεις δια Σαλασσων εις την εντος των Αλπεων Κελτικην.

[q] Pliny ſays of the *Durance*, that it was *as much* a torrent as the Rhone, "nec *minùs* ſeipſo torrentes Iſaram et Druentiam" (iii. 4). Wright deſcribes it, as "*more* rapid than the Rhone "itſelf" (Travels 14. edit. ad. quarto). And Breval remarks, that it "is too impetuous to carry any thing but floats" (Second Travels ii. 153). This ſhows us livelily the ſcale, by which exaggeration mounts at times, and reaches the regions of falſehood.

"nibal,

" nibal, in croſſing it; while their haſty eager-
" neſs for paſſing, and their confuſed clamours
" during the paſſage, united with all to agitate
" them[r]." Yet this account ſurely is too gene-
ral, too indiſtinct, for hiſtorical uſe. It ſpeaks to
the ear, but comes not to the mind. It tells us
ſomething, which eventually vaniſhes into no-
thing. We hear of a confuſion, an agitation, in
the army; but we ſee no conſequence, reſulting
from it. Silius Italicus however tells us that
conſequence, and the poet fills up the void left
by the hiſtorian. He ſays, that the torrent, " with
" the rains recently fallen, bore down many of
" the men as they were fording, whirled them
" away with its foaming eddies, deformed them
" with bruiſes, and lacerated them with wounds,"
by daſhing them againſt the fragments of rock,
" and then buried them in the bottom of its
" waters[s]."

[r] Livy xxi. 31. " Tum, fortè imbribus auctus, ingentem
" tranſgredientibus tumultum fecit; quum, ſuper cetera, tre-
" pidatione ipſi ſuâ atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur."

[s] Turbidus hic truncis ſaxiſque Druentia lætum
Ductoris vaſtavit iter; namque, Alpibus ortus,
Avulſas ornos, et adeſi fragmina montis,
Cum ſonitu volvens, fertur latrantibus undis,
Ac vada tranſlato mutat fallacia curſu.
Non pediti fidus, patulis non puppibus æquus,
Et tunc hymbre recens fuſo, correpta ſub armis
Corpora multa virûm, ſpumanti vertice torquens,
Immerſit fundo laceris deformia membris.

The Arve falls into the Rhone, about half a mile to the weſt of Geneva; and forms the boundary, between the dominions of Geneva and poſſeſſions of Savoy [t]. But it was formerly much nearer to Geneva, than it is at preſent; a new channel having been cut for it by the Genevans, to prevent its frequent inundations upon them [u]. In conſequence of this, a *Diſcus* of ſilver, weighing thirty-four ounces and a half, being ten inches in diameter, bearing a Roman inſcription, and exhibiting a Roman emperour, one of the Valentinians, in the act of making a *largeſs* to the army upon a victory; was found juſt in the ancient bed of the river, a little above the bridge over it, during the year 1721; and is now kept in the publick library of Geneva [v]. This was originally,

[t] Mrs. Miller, who, in her Travels i. 26, 29, ſpeaks much of the Arve, as from her own inſpection, appears from the very courſe that ſhe takes in her journey, by Geneva and Rumelie to Chamberry, to leave the Arve behind and on the left of her, to mean therefore the Iſara or the Iſere, and to report untruths of all, when ſhe ſays ſhe was "obliged to paſs "the Arve continually." This it is to write an account of a day's travels, when two or three days more have intervened, when places and names have crowded in upon the memory, and the laſt have confounded the firſt.

[u] Miſſon ii. 408.

[v] Breval's Firſt Travels ii. 17, where we have a view of the *Diſcus*. The inſcription is "Largitas Domini Valentiniani "Aug.....," probably *Imp.* and therefore referring to the firſt of the three Valentinians; the figures are the Emperour and

originally, we may be ſure, a large Diſh for the Imperial Table; and was loſt with ſome officer of the houſhold, or ſome ſumpter-horſe of the train, that was ſwept away by the torrent, like many of Hannibal's ſoldiers, in fording over it. At ſome periods of the year indeed, when the ſnow is melting on the mountains, or the rains are pouring into the vallies; this torrent riſes with a rapidity, extraordinary even in *its* irritable ſtate of waters. In 1673 and 1778 particularly, the inundation from it was ſo large; the quantity and violence of the waters, which it diſgorged into the Rhone, were ſo conſiderable; that even the ſtream of the Rhone itſelf was ſtopped, and its waters were all ſuſpended in their courſe. There have even been times, when the current of the Rhone has been low, and the channel of the Arve charged with an extraordinary weight of waters; that the former has been forced back to its iſſue out of the lake, and the very mills at the bridge of Geneva have been turned backward, by its vehemence of receding. This cannot have happened very frequently, becauſe the ſame cauſes, that produce an overflow in one of theſe adjoining and Alpine rivers, muſt generally pro-

and his ſoldiers, he ſtanding in the front of them towards the ſpectator, overtopping them all in ſtature, graſping the ſtaff of a ſtandard with his left hand, and holding a globe ſurmounted by a victory in his right. The faces are all erazed, by the violent attrition of the gravel.

duce

duce the ſame in the other; yet is recorded to have happened *in 1570, in 1651, in 1711, and in 1733*[w]. So ſteadily has the Arve preſerved the character, which Livy gave it ſeventeen hundred years ago; of "bringing down a great body of "waters" with it! But, what proves it to retain even at this day the other part of the character given, of "being confined by no banks, flowing "in ſeveral channels at once, and thoſe different "at different times;" M. Sauſſure obſerves concerning *the very point*, at which Livy ſo deſcribed it, at which Hannibal and the Romans forded it; that, "about twelve or fifteen years ago, the "Arve went very cloſe to the ſide of La Batie, "and came to mingle with the Rhone very "obliquely; afterwards a *part* of its waters made "themſelves a way acroſs the ſand, and formed "an arm which entered the Rhone in an angle, "approaching much nearer to a right one; at "laſt the Arve, *by mere dint of abraſion*, has *hol-"lowed out a bed for itſelf* at the ſide of the Gar-"dens, and the angle is become very oblique "again[x]." Such has been the regular and uni-

[w] Sauſſure i. 12-14.

[x] Sauſſure i. 14. "Il y a douze ou quinze ans que l'Arve "cotoyoit de tres-pres le coteau de la Batié, et venoit ſe mêler "au Rhone tres-obliquement. Enſuite une partie de ſes eaux "ſe fit jour au travers du ſable, et forma un bras qui entroit "dans le Rhone ſous un angle, qui approchoit beaucoup plus "de l'angle droit. Enfin l'Arve, à force de ronger, s'eſt creuſé "un lit qui cotoye les Jardins, et l'angle eſt redevenu tres-"oblique."

form

form conſiſtency of character in the Arve, through all ages [y].

The rivers of the Alps have been remarked by the moderns, to be much higher in ſummer than

[y] I have noticed no *granites*, as rolled down by the Arve. Mr. Coxe indeed would lead us to ſuppoſe, there are none in any of the Alpine rivers. There are "large ſtones of granite," he tells us, "—which the glacieres diſgorge on each ſide, "after having received them from the ſuper-impending moun- "tains.—Theſe ſtones, which the inhabitants call *Moraine*, "form *a kind of border towards the foot of the valley of ice*, and "*have been puſhed forward by the glacier in its advances*; they "*extend even to the place occupied by the larger pines*" (ii. 3 and 29). Theſe granites therefore are not found, we are ready to ſuppoſe, beyond the fartheſt limits of the ice. Yet the ſuppoſition would not be true, and Mr. Coxe probably does not mean to inſinuate it is. There are ſome granites found in the Arve, though ſo few as not to demand my notice in the text: the calcareous rubbiſh below Cluſe being alſo "melanges de "granit et d'autres roches primitives, qui ont eté tranſportées "là par les memes revolutions, qui *en ont charié de ſemblables* "*aux environs de Geneve*" (Sauſſure ii. 148). At the glacieres, notes Mr. Coxe above, the granites are called by the inhabitants *Moraine*, or, as the term was in the firſt edition of theſe travels, *Mareme* (Sketches 298); a term un-explained in both forms, but the ſame undoubtedly with the *Merrein* or *Merrin* of the French, the *Mereſme*, *Maremium*, or *Mereminum* of our old law-books and old chronicles; uſed in all to ſignify *timber* for building, but, as appears from the Alpine application of it to granites, from the Scotch orthography of it, *Muremium* (Spelman's Gloſſary), and from analogy, originally and properly importing *ſtones* for building. We thus explain a word, that has puzzled all our antiquaries of law and of language, in a manner critically juſt and ſatisfactorily convincing.

in

in winter, because of the melting of the snows on the mountains [z]. Nor is the remark new. It is almost as old as the fact itself; Strabo having made it, near eighteen hundred years ago [a]. *These rivers therefore must naturally be in their highest state, when the summer-heats have been acting longest on the snows, during the season of Autumn.* And to these snows, which had been long melting, as well as to the accidental rains of Livy and of Silius Italicus; must we attribute the obstruction, that the Arve now gave to Hannibal, in what will appear hereafter to have been the very season of Autumn [b].

— V. —

HANNIBAL was now entering the Alpine region, though he was not yet come to the great pass of the Alps. The friendly King of the Segusiani, therefore, left him. He could be no longer of service. He went with the Carthaginians, says Polybius, "and gave a security to their march; "till they APPROACHED the pass of the Alps."

[z] Addison 460.

[a] Strabo iv. 285. Ποιουσι δε τας εκ των υδατων δυσκολιας ει χειμαρροις και μεχρι τω θερως εσθ' οτε εκ των Αλπεων καταφερομενοις μετα τον ακοληξιν των χειμων.

[b] Vol. ii. chap. i. sect. iv.

[c] Polybius iii. 49. Ασφαλη παρεσκευασε τον διοδον αυτοις, εως κυγισαν τη των Αλπεων παραβολη. "He secured their march from "insult, till they [illegible] at the *foot* of the Alps" (i. 354). With so little discrimination does Mr. Hampton translate!

He

He went with them to the farthest regions of those Gauls, of whom Hannibal had expressed his apprehensions, and upon whom the presence of Brancus could have any influence. He went as far as "the farthest town of the Allobroges, "GENEVA." He then took his leave of Hannibal, and returned. Hannibal was thus come, as Polybius says expressly "he marched along the "river, about *eight hundred stadia*, *one hundred miles*, from Lyons[d]; Geneva being something more than *ninety-six* miles by the *shortest* route, on the *northern* bank of the Rhone; and therefore a full hundred by the longest, on the southern[e].

From Geneva eastward along the Rhone, the country stretches about forty miles to St. Gingoult, and the road runs on the low border of the Dutchy of Chablais. The current of a river always marks the low part of a region, as every current is in a state of progression from the higher to the lower parts. The road therefore from the south of France to the entry of the Alps, had been laid along the channel of the Rhone, as keeping off from the mountains on the east, and presenting the most level line of the intermediate region. It thus also continued gradually ascend-

[d] Polybius ibi. [illegible]

[e] Sketch of a Tour through Switzerland, 1787, 5—6; Gray 98.

ing the inclined plane of the ſtream, and carried Hannibal inſenſibly, though circuitouſly, to a nearer level with the Alps: But where the Dutchy of Chablais ends, and near the caſtern horn of the lake, commences what may be conſidered as the cradle-valley of the Rhone. Polybius has informed us concerning this river, that "for a long "time it is carried down A VALLEY, the *northern* "ſide of which is inhabited by the Ardyes Celtæ; "while the *ſouthern is bounded by thoſe ſlopes of the* "*Alps, which incline to the north*: but *the plains* "*upon the Po* are ſeparated from this VALLEY "along the Rhone, by *the treſts of the Alps*[f]." Accordingly we find there is a valley, which extends from the Lake of Geneva up to the ſprings of the Rhone; is therefore one of the longeſt vallies in Europe, being no leſs than thirty-four leagues in extent; and has the current of the Rhone, running endlong for its whole length. It is formed by a vaſt chaſm, which the hand of nature has ſcooped out between two parallel lines of mountains; as the grand outlet, for all the

Polybius iii. 47. Φερεται δ' επιπολυ, a word tranſlated "chiefly" by Mr. Hampton (i. 349), ſo underſtood by all, but plainly from the context, that beſt ſtandard of meaning, ſignifying here, as it ſignifies in other authors, *a long time*, "δι' αυλωνος, ου, προς μεν τας αρκτους, Αρδυες Κελται καλουκουσι· την "δ' απο μεσημβριας; αυλου πλευραν οριζουσι πασαν, προς αρκτον κεκλι-"μεναι των Αλπεων ακρωρειαι· τα δε πεδια τα παρα τον Παδον—, "απο του καλα τον Ροδανον αυλωνος, διαζευγνυουσι αι των προειρημενων "ορων ακρωρειαι.

waters

waters of the mountainous country adjoining. The region of thoſe who were called Ardyes Celtæ in the days of Polybius, who were denominated Helvetii in the days of Cæſar, and from a particular diſtrict within it are now named Switzers or Swiſs; lies all to the north of the Rhone, and among the northern chain of mountains[g]. And to the ſouth of the Rhone are the Alps, that lead into Piedmont or the Milaneſe in Italy[h]. But this long valley ſpreads its narrow lap along the *ſouthern* bank of the Rhone, between it and the ſouthern mountains, under the emphatical appellation that naturally prevailed in the vicinity of ſuch a valley, and afterwards diffuſed itſelf over the reſt of Europe; that of VALLAIS, or *the* Valley. Into this valley, which is only a continuation of the inclined plane of the current, but divided from the preceding by an interpoſing mountain; Hannibal next entered, turning the grand angle of the Alps, but, as nature forms all her large angles, one rounded off into a bend imperceptible in its beginning, and undefineable at its end; marching under the very ſhade, of the Alps on

[g] Thoſe who were called *Celtæ* in the days of Polybius, and *Ardyes* Celtæ as *Mountaineers*, were afterwards called *Helvetii* as Celtæ. *Galli*, *Galatæ*, *Gallitæ*, *Celtæ*, and *Caled*-ones, *Walli*, *Fael*, *Allo*-broges, and *Helvet*-ii, are all the ſame appellatives, altered merely by provincialities of pronunciation and diverſities of termination.

[h] Bourrit i. 21.

his right; and preſſing forward to the well-known avenue through them. Livy therefore acquaints us, in full conformity to all this, and in total non-conformity to every other route; that Hannibal had a road moſtly *level*, from "*the Druentia*" or Arve "to *the Alps*[i]."

"As long as the Carthaginians continued in "the plane-country," adds Polybius, "all the "natives abſtained from inſults to them; afraid "partly of Hannibal's cavalry, and partly of the "Gauls accompanying him[k]." The natives abſtained for both theſe reaſons, while Hannibal was marching up to Geneva. They even abſtained afterwards, when the eſcort was gone back, and they could have only a dread of his cavalry. This indeed Polybius does not tell us, but Livy does. "Hannibal reached the Alps," according to Livy, "with the apparent *good-will* of the in-"habitants of the region[l]." So diſcriminately are the two ſtages of Hannibal's advance from

[i] Livy xxi. 32. "Ab Druentiâ, campeſtri maximè itinere, "—ad Alpes—pervenit."

[k] Polybius iii. 50. Εως μεν γαρ εν τοις επιπεδοις ησαν, απειχοντο παντες αυτων—τα μεν τους ιππεις δεδιοτες, τα δε τους παραπεμποντας Βαρβαρους.

[l] Livy xxi. 32. "Ab Druentiâ—cum bonâ pace ad Alpes, "incolentium ea loca Gallorum,—pervenit," or, as the words ſhould evidently be tranſpoſed, "Ab Druentiâ—ad Alpes, "cum bonâ pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum,—pervenit."

Lyons

Lyons to the aſcent of the Alps, characterized between theſe two writers; Polybius deſcribing the former half, by its reſpect for the eſcort and its fear of the cavalry; and Livy delineating the latter, by its "apparent good-will" to Hannibal! So diſcriminately indeed are both characterized by Livy himſelf, the only one of the two that mentions both; the former half, as having a road "not embarraſſing," and the latter, as having a way "moſtly level."

The region denominated the *Vallais* is divided into two parts, the Upper and the Lower. Theſe are not defined by the natural boundaries, that actually form a couple of vallies; but by ſome artificial and arbitrary limits of their own. The Upper comes down weſtward to the city of Sion, and the river Morge on this ſide of it; while the Lower ſtretches from it in a pleaſing oval, as ſurveyed from the mountains above, by Martigny and St. Maurice to St. Gingoult. Near St. Maurice the grand line of the Alps, which confines this valley cloſe on the right, puſhes up ſo near to the Rhone, as to leave no interval for a road between them. One therefore has been made through them. The obſtructing *hornwork* of hills has been perforated, in order to admit a communication between the two vallies. An opening is thus formed, which is *ſome leagues* in length, and carries the appearance of a vaſt, magnificent ave-

nue. On each ſide is a range of lofty rock, while the ground is completely level under the foot. Such an entrance as this into a valley, might have been defended by a ſmall number, againſt the whole army of Hannibal[m]! But it was formed, no doubt, ſince the days of Hannibal, and by thoſe tamers of the ruggedneſs of nature, thoſe conſtructors of roads for half the globe, the Romans, on their reduction of the country. Till the period of this reduction, and till the victories of Auguſtus over the very Alps themſelves, a bold and broad arm of the Alps came forward acroſs the road, un-perforated and un-levelled. The road, that had traced the plane of the weſtern valley, here mounted the projecting rampart of the Alps, and then deſcended into the plane of the eaſtern. And as Livy with great preciſion applies the name of "Plane Country," to the region between Geneva and the Paſs; ſo with ſtill greater he deſcribes the road along it, not as level entirely and univerſally, but, becauſe of this grand interpoſition of mountain, as "*moſtly level*[n]."

[m] Simler 88-90 and 108-116, Bourrit i. 18-19, Coxe i. 392-394, and Moore's View of Society 244, 247, 249. "Rectè "itaque incolæ totam vallem unum quoddam oppidum cenſent, "montibus quaſi moeniis munitum, cujus porta Tarnadæ ſit" (Simler 88).

[n] Livy xxi. 32. "Ab Druentiâ, campeſtri maximè itinere," —ad Alpes."

About

About ten miles to the eaſt of St. Gingoult, near the middle of this perforated mountain, upon the rocky point of the whole projection, and cloſe to the Rhone, ſtands the town of St. Maurice at preſent, the *Tarnada* of the earlier Romans, the *Agaunum* of the later, and the reputed, the probable ſcene of the martyrdom of that legion of Chriſtians, which bore the appellation of Theban, which honourably refuſed to renounce their Heaven-deſcended religion, and were all maſſacred for the refuſal by that ſavage enemy of Chriſtianity and of Man, Maximian[o]. About twelve

[o] Simler 88-90 and 108-116, Bourrit i. 18-19, and Coxe i. 392-393. Tradition has been always firm and ſteady, in aſſerting *this* to be the ſcene of the martyrdom. As the town belonged to the Kings of Burgundy, on the ſettlement of the Vandals in this part of the empire; and as Chriſtianity ſingularly triumphed over the very ſavages, before whom the empire lay vanquiſhed and proſtrate; an abbey was erected here in the ſixth century, by Sigiſmond, King of Burgundy. Ever ſince, has the town aſſumed the appellation of the Saint, to whom the abbey was dedicated; Mauritius, the leader of this military band of martyrs. Such a tradition, and ſuch a fact accompanying it, come in as powerful auxiliaries to the original narrative. Yet in that ſpirit of ſcepticiſm, which is now prevalent in the critical world, which is proper and uſeful in itſelf under ſtrong reſtrictions, but is generally as it is operating at preſent, a mere *gas* of folly with which Ignorance fills up its balloon, and Infidelity ſets itſelf wildly afloat in the air; not only the place has been diſputed, but the very fact has been denied. Every *humour* in literature and in theology, that once becomes popular, is ſure to grow ridiculous. Ninety-nine in a hundred

twelve miles to the eaſt of this town, is that of MARTIGNY [p], the OCTODURUS of the Romans, the very limit of Hannibal's march along the

even of thinking writers, are in many points the mere echoers of popular opinions, and the very parrots of the talk of the times. To diſbelieve or to doubt one half of *eccleſiaſtical* hiſtory in particular, is the impertinent faſhion of the moment; and is more eminently the faſhion with ſome, who are all the while diſplaying their own weakneſs of credulity, in hiſtory ſecular, modern, and national. But this improvident *Pyrrhoniſm* often ſhows itſelf in a milder light, carries the face of ſome zeal for religion, and then ſets the whole narrative aſide without preſuming to diſprove it. This is the mode with thoſe, who mean well, who cannot diſprove, and who dare not admit. "Without entering into the merits of the queſtion" concerning the narrative of the Theban legion, ſays Mr. Coxe i. 393, "I cannot but remark, that the cauſe of Chriſtianity has ſuf-"fered more from weak and imprudent defenders, than from "the ſharpeſt attacks of its moſt inveterate adverſaries." He thus creates a fiction of his own, as if the aſſertion of the fact was connected by the aſſerter, with the very "cauſe of "Chriſtianity" itſelf; and then goes on to condemn the aſſertion, "without entering into the merits of the queſtion." This is no bad ſpecimen of the pert and flippant and ridiculous mode of writing upon ſuch ſubjects, that is predominating among us at preſent. It is confined, I believe, to our own nation. It falls in with the bent of mind, in the generality of Engliſh readers, and in the generality of Engliſh authors too, who are only a more refined part of the vulgar. It indulges that indolence of intellect equally in both, which does not love to diſcuſs a doubted point of hiſtory, to clear it of the rubbiſh around it, and to ſet it in a full point of view before the eye.

[p] Simler 110, and Moore i. 249.

Vallais,

Vallais, and the very point at which he entered the Alps. But, in order to throw a ſtrong light upon this part of Hannibal's expedition, let us call in a portion of hiſtory, that is only about 170 years later in point of time. We have ſeen Pompey engaged before, in tracing back the ſteps of Hannibal acroſs the Alps and along the Rhone. Let us now contemplate Cæſar, equally though mediately employed in following the very track of Hannibal, along the channel of the Rhone, and into the body of the Alps. Cæſar ſent a detachment of troops, as I have ſhown before, to open that very communication between Gaule and Italy, to which Hannibal is now marching. Let us then attend the operations of this detachment, in order to know particularly the nations, with which Hannibal is at preſent, and is to be ſoon, engaged; to ſee exactly the nature, of the country of both; and to make the whole illuſtrate, aſcertain, and eſtabliſh the real hiſtory of Hannibal.

" When Cæſar went into Italy" at the concluſion of his ſecond campaign in Gaule, " he ſent " Ser. Galba," he ſays, " with the twelfth legion " and a party of cavalry, among the NANTUATES, " the VERAGRI, and the SEDUNI, who *range from* " *the borders of the Allobroges*" at Geneva, " from " the Lake of Geneva, and the river Rhone, to

" the tops of the Alps [q]. The occaſion of ſend-
" ing him, was this; that he wanted to have
" THE ROAD laid open, by which road the mer-
" chants had uſed to travel, at a great riſk, and
" with great impoſts laid upon them [r]. He per-
" mitted him, if he thought it requiſite, to ſtation
" the legion there for the winter [s]. Galba,
" having gained ſome victories over them, and
" ſtormed ſeveral of their caſtles [t]," &c. This account is peculiarly uſeful to us, at preſent; as it draws up the curtain, which hung before the preſent portion of our hiſtory. It ſhows us very diſtinctly, that the nations, with which Hannibal was engaged after the friendly Sovereign of Lyons had left him, were the NANTUATES, who lived along the lake from Geneva to St. Gingoult probably, and ſo filled the line of the preſent Dutchy

[q] Bell. Gall. iii. 1. p. 85. " Quum in Italiam proficiſce-
" retur Cæſar, Ser. Galbam cum legione duodecimâ et parte
" equitatûs, in Nantuates, Veragros, Sedunoſque miſit; qui
" a finibus Allobrogum, et lacu Lemano, et flumine Rhodano,
" ad Summas Alpes pertinent."

[r] Ibid. " Cauſa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, quo
" itinere, magno cum periculo magniſque portoriis, merca-
" tores ire conſueverant, patefieri volebat.

[s] Ibid. p. 86. " Huic permiſit, ſi opus eſſe arbitraretur,
" uti in iis locis legionem, hiemandi causâ, collocaret."

[t] Ibid. " Galba, ſecundis aliquot prœliis factis, caſtelliſ-
" que compluribus eorum expugnatis," &c.

of

of Chablais [u]; the VERAGRI, who ranged on along the lake and the Rhone, to the borders of the Lepontii Viberi and the town of Viſp [v]; and the SEDUNI, who inhabited upon the road of the Alps to the very ſummits of the mountains. They all extended, we are told, "from the borders of the "Allobroges, the Lake of Geneva, and the river "Rhone, to the tops of the Alps [w]." The mo-

[u] There is a town of *Nantua* to the *north* of the Rhone and to the *weſt* of Geneva, in the Breſſe, and on the ſhorter road from Lyons to Geneva (ſee Maps for Mod. Univerſ. Hiſt. and Sketch 5); but this is too remote from the Nantuates to have any connection with them, being not leſs than forty-four miles from Geneva. Coincidences of appellation muſt always be applied, in accordance with geographical proprieties.

[v] Simler 52-53. "Non longè infra Gliſam, murus a Rho-"dano ad excurrentia juga proximorum montium ductus eſt; "hunc ad hoſtium vim arcendam quondam extructum fuiſſe, "turres et propugnacula oſtendunt.—Hic terminus Viberorum "fuiſſe cenſetur; unde et pagus in monte ſupra Veſpiam, a "Sedunis *Termina*," in the maps *Terminen*, "appellatur." Now, "hic murus neglectui habetur, multiſque in locis "fatiſcit."

[w] How untruly then has Dio abbreviated this part of Cæſar's hiſtory, when he ſays that "Servius Galba," Γαλβας ο Σιρβιος, which ſhews his full name to be not Sergius, as is commonly ſuppoſed, but Servius, "brought the *Veragri*, who live *upon* "*the Lake of Geneva*, *cloſe to the Allobroges*, and *up to the* "*Alps*, to ſubmit, ſome of them by force," though one nation, "and ſome even by conſent;" Ουαραγρες, παρα τε την Λιμβανην λιμνην, και προς τοις Αλλοβριξι, μεχρι των Αλπεων, οικουντας, τους μεν βια τους δε και ομολογια, παρεστησαλο (xxxix. 5. p. 192). The manner of the narrative is as injudicious, as the geography of the country is falſe.

tive for ſending troops among theſe nations, was to penetrate as Hannibal had penetrated before, through the Nantuates, and through the Veragri, to THE ROAD over the Alps and the Seduni living along it. The troops ſent "gained ſome victo-"ries over them, and ſtormed ſeveral of their "caſtles;" but theſe caſtles belonged to, and theſe victories were gained over, the Seduni alone. This the very object of the expedition ſuggeſts, and this Cæſar explicitly declares; the ſum of all the expedition being reckoned up by himſelf, to be only that "the Seduni were "conquered upon the Alps[x]."

All theſe three were conſidered as Alpine tribes. As ſuch, were they reduced afterwards by Auguſtus, and ſpecified on his trophy near Monaco[y]. Yet they were equally conſidered as Gallick nations, and as members of that great community of nations, Gaule[z]. Nor did the Nantuates or Veragri attempt to oppoſe, either Hannibal's army or Cæſar's detachment, as it marched up the valley to the road and the Seduni. All that march of Hannibal's however, though it was purſued through *a couple of nations*, is *totally omitted by Polybius*. He conſiders the po-

[x] Bell. Gall. iii. 7. p. 90. "Victis in Alpibus Sedunis."

[y] Pliny iii. 20. "Gentes Alpinæ devictæ,—Nantuates, "Seduni, Veragri."

[z] Dio xxxix. 5. p. 192. Εν τῃ Γαλατίᾳ.

ſition

ſition of Geneva as the beginning of the Alps, therefore carries Hannibal a hundred miles from Lyons, and inſtantly ſets him to enter the Alps. Hannibal, he tells us, "having—marched along "the river about a hundred miles, began the aſ-"cent of the Alps[a]." Strabo ſo far does the ſame, as to conſider the whole country from Geneva to the eaſt for a part of the Alpine region; ſaying "there is a way for him, who leaves on "the left Lyons and the country adjoining to it, "and who again makes a turn *in the very Penine*," theſe Alps ſo called, "and *croſſes the Rhone*" by the bridge of Geneva, "or *the Lake of Geneva*" by a boat, "to *the plains of the Helvetii*[b]." Silius Italicus alſo does the ſame again, paſſing immediately from the Druentia or Arve to the entrance of the Alps[c]. But, whatever excuſe we may make for the Geographer or the Poet, we can neither make nor admit any for the Hiſtorian. This is certainly one of the many deficiencies, and of the very important too, that juſt criticiſm

[a] Polybius iii. 49-50. Αννιβας δε,—πορευθεις παρα τον ποταμον εις οκλακοσιους σταδιους, ηξαιτο της προς τας Αλπεις αναβολης.

[b] Strabo iv. 319. Εστι δε και εν αριστερα αφεισι [αφενλι] το Λουγδουνον και την υπερκειμενην χωραν, εν αυλω τω Ποινινω παλιν εκβαινλι τον Ροδανον, η την λιμνην την Λιμεναν, εις τα Ελουητιων πεδια.

[c] Silius Italicus, having deſcribed the paſſage of the Druentius, adds:

Sed jam præteritos ultra meminiſſe labores,
Conſpectæ propiùs dempsêre paventibus Alpes;
Cuncta gelu, &c.

muſt

muſt for ever lament in the narrative of Polybius. A range of country about ſixty miles in length, is annihilated by the negligence of this writer; and we find a great gulph yawning wide before us, when we would purſue his march of Hannibal with geographical fidelity. Yet ſuch has been the reverence ſhewn to the pen of Polybius, ſuch the idolatry paid to his name, that his very faults have been conſecrated with his excellencies, and the erring mortal has been enſhrined in the glory of the Divinity. Though Livy comes in very happily to ſupply his deficiency here, and expoſes it very ſtrongly by ſupplying it, yet little attention has been given him; and the hiſtorical world has generally preferred, the falſhoods of this Plato, to the truths of Livy. Accordingly we find Folard, as ſoon as ever, in ſome compliance with Livy, he has brought Hannibal over what he takes to be Livy's Druentia; carrying him *that very day*, "to encamp upon Mount Genévre at the *ſummit* "of the Alps[d]." This, to be ſure, is *a note beyond ela* in harmonizing with Polybius; but the general note was ſtruck by Polybius, and is only repeated in a higher tone by Folard. M. de St. Simon too, equally complying with Livy, in carrying Hannibal over what he conceives with Folard to be Livy's Druentia, and fording it

[d] Preface. *Table de Comparaiſon.* "Le ſeptieme jour de "ſa marche, il paſſa la Durance, et vint camper ſur le mont "Genêvre à la ſommité des Alpes."

about

about Breoule; ſays "the Durance offers *in this* "*place* the picture, that Livy has drawn of it; "the Alps, which are *on the other ſide*, preſent "themſelves ſuch as Hannibal ſaw them;—*the* "*poſition of Breoule agrees perfectly with the little* "*town*," more than a mile *within* the Alps, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, "*whither the Barbarians retired* "*during the nights*[e]." We thus behold a ſingular phænomenon in literature; the rays of Divinity from Polybius playing ſo fiercely upon the eyes of M. de St. Simon, that he could not ſee Livy, even while he was looking at him, for the dazzling luſtre of them. Livy, he obſerved, carried Hannibal over the Druentia, and, as he ſhould alſo have obſerved, carried him "from "the Druentia, by a road moſtly level, to the "Alps." But Polybius had leaped over this intermediate region, and therefore both he and Folard refuſed to pace along it. They digreſſed ſo far from the guiding hand of Polybius, as to ford a river not pointed out by him; but then refuſed to ſtray any farther from him. Though they ſaw the country ſpreading level before them in Livy, they burſt into the mountains with Polybius.

[e] Preface xx. "La direction de ſa marche conduit à la "Breoule, ou fort près; la Durance—offre en ce lieu le ta-"bleau, que Tite-Live en fait; les Alpes, qui ſont au-delà, "ſe preſentent telles qu'Annibal les a vûes;—la poſition de la "Breoule convient parfaitement à la petite ville, où les bar-"bares ſe retiroient pendant les nuits."

Livy

Livy indeed was conſidered by them, and has hitherto been conſidered by all, not as he ought to have been, not as an equal planet with Polybius in the horizon of our hiſtory; but as a kind of ſatellite only to him, one attentive to his movements, one reflecting his brightneſs, and hardly noticeable in the luſtre of his beams. And this falſe idea has contributed to give a falſe turn, to many parts of the hiſtory of Hannibal[f]."

"Galba,"

[f] Polybius iii. 50, ſays, that Hannibal "in ten days," εν ημεραις δεκα, marched a hundred miles, and began to aſcend the Alps. Folard, raſh in his blindneſs, has preſumed to point out the very place, at which Hannibal encamped in each of the ten. On the *fifth* he brings him to Lautaret, and ſpeaks of *the battle at the entrance of the Alps*: "Il a *cinquieme* au Lautaret; c'eſt "là qu'il ſoutint un combat contre ceux de pays." On the *ſeventh* he carries him up to the top of the Alps, and on the *eighth* begins to carry him down; "le *ſeptieme* jour de ſa "marche, il—vint camper ſur le mont—à la ſommité des "Alpes; la *huitieme* il deſcendit des Alpes:" when in Polybius he has not yet reached the Alps, when he there marches *ten* days, and *then* tries to enter. This is ſo aſtoniſhingly wild, that we are amazed to think how the name of Folard could ever have been raiſed into celebrity, and how the world of ſcholars could ever unite to put ſuch a groſs impoſition upon themſelves. But let me ſubjoin for the fuller conviction of my reader, if fuller can be, St. Simon's general account of him; not as from himſelf, who is a profeſſed antagoniſt, but from another writer of France, to whom he appeals, and of whom I remember Mr. Gibbon to ſpeak highly. "J'eſpere qu'on ne me refuſera "pas," he cries, "de ſe rappeller que Guiſchardt (voyez Me-"moires Militaires ſur les Grecs et les Romains. Edit. de la "Haye.

" Galba," adds Cæſar, " having gained ſome " victories over them, and ſtormed ſeveral of " their caſtles; on their ſending embaſſadours " to him from every quarter, giving him hoſ- " tages, and entering into peace with him, de- " termined to fix a couple of cohorts among the " NANTUATES, and he himſelf to winter with the " remaining cohorts of the legion, in a ſmall town " of the VERAGRI that is denominated OCTODU- " RUS; a town that lies in a valley, with a plain " of a moderate ſize adjoining to it, and ſur- " rounded on all ſides with very lofty hills[s]. " As this town was divided in two by a river, he " gave up one part of it to the Gauls; the other, " which was relinquiſhed by them, he kept for

" Haye. 1758), dont on n'a pas connu toute le merite dans la " republique des Provinces-Unies; a cependant tres-clairement " demontré, que Folard a ſouvent bien *moins ſuivi* le *texte* de " ſon auteur, que *les ecarts de ſon imagination trop vive*; enſorte " qu'on peut dire, que les idées etoient *obſcures dans ſes beaux* " *jours*, et *confuſés à la fin de ſa vie*" (p. xxxviii-xxxix). A note adds thus; " on ſçait aſſez la fin de cet auteur, qui *paſſa de* " *l'etude de Polybe* à la *contemplation des merveilles de St.* " *Medard*."

[s] Bell. Gall. iii. 1. p. 86. " Galba, ſecundis aliquot prœliis " factis, caſtelliſque compluribus eorum expugnatis; miſſis ad " eum undique legatis, obſidibuſque datis, et pace factâ, con- " ſtituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare: ipſe cum " reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus, in vico Veragrorum qui " appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; qui vicus poſitus in valle, " non magnâ adjectâ planicie, altiſſimis montibus undique " continetur."

" the quarters of the cohorts [h]. And he then " ſecured the latter with a rampart and a ditch [i]. " When they had now been ſeveral days thus " ſettled for the winter, and he had ordered a " quantity of corn to be brought in; he was " ſuddenly informed by a ſcouting party, that " the ſide of the town, which he had aſſigned " to the Gauls, had been abandoned by them " all in the night, and that the hills hanging " over the town were occupied by a very great " body of SEDUNI and VERAGRI [k]. This had " been done by them from ſeveral motives, with " a ſudden reſolution of renewing the war, and " of cruſhing the legion [l]. Their firſt was, that " the legion, being not a very full one of itſelf; " and with the deduction of two cohorts, and " from the abſence of ſeveral individuals, who " had been ſent out to collect proviſions, made

[h] Bell. Gall. iii. 1. p. 86. " Quum hic in duas partes flu- " mine divideretur, alteram ejus vici Gallis conceſſit, alteram, " vacuam ab illis relictam, cohortibus ad hiemandum attri- " buit."

[i] Ibid. " Eum locum vallo foſſâque munivit."

[k] Ibid. 2. p. 86. " Quum dies hibernorum complures " tranſiſſent, frumentumque eò comportari juſſiſſet; ſubitò " per exploratores certior factus eſt, ex eâ parte vici quam " Gallis conceſſerat omnes noctu diſceſſiſſe, monteſque qui " impenderent a maximâ multitudine Sedunorum et Vera- " grorum teneri."

[l] Ibid. " Id aliquot de cauſis acciderat, ut ſubitò Galli belli " renovandi legioniſque opprimendæ conſilium caperent."

" ſtill

" ſtill weaker; was deſpiſed by them, as a feeble " body of ſoldiers [m]. Their ſecond was, that " becauſe of the inequality of the ground, when " they themſelves ſhould run down from the " hills into the valley, and throw in their wea- " pons among the Romans, they thought theſe " could not ſtand their firſt charge [n]. There " was alſo this additional motive, that they " grieved at the taking away of their children " from them, under the title of hoſtages; and " were convinced the Romans did not act ſolely " with a view of ſecuring THE ROAD, but were " aiming at a perpetuity of poſſeſſion, in thus " endeavouring to ſeize the tops of the Alps, " and were going to annex all the country to " their dominions adjoining [o]. Galba, on re-

[m] Bell. Gall. iii. 2. p. 86. " Primum, quòd legionem, neque " eam pleniſſimam, detractis cohortibus duabus, et complu- " ribus ſigillatim, qui commeatûs petendi causâ miſſi erant, " abſentibus, propter paucitatem deſpiciebant." Dio very oddly ſays, but very appoſitely for us, that " of the ſoldiers " ſome remained, as *being not far from Italy*," των στρατιωτων οι μεν παρεμενον, οια μη πορρω της Ιταλιας ονλες (xxxix. 5. p. 192).

[n] Ibid. p. 87. " Tum etiam, quòd propter iniquitatem loci, " quum ipſi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent, et tela con- " jicerent; ne primum quidem poſſe impetum ſuſtineri exiſti- " mabant."

[o] Ibid. " Accedebat, quòd ſuos abs ſe liberos abſtractos " obſidum nomine dolebant; et Romanos, non ſolùm itineris " causâ, ſed etiàm perpetuæ poſſeſſionis, culmina Alpium oc- " cupare conari, et ea loca finitimæ provinciæ adjungere, ſibi " perſuaſum habebant."

" ceiving

" ceiving this intelligence, as he had not yet " completed his quarters for the ſeaſon of winter, " or his works for the ſecurity of the place, and " had not yet laid in a ſufficient quantity of " corn, or other proviſions; becauſe he had no " apprehenſions of a war, when they had ſub- " mitted to his arms, and given him hoſtages; " haſtily called a council of war, and began to " conſult his officers [p]. In this council, when a " danger ſo great and ſo ſudden had come con- " trary to expectation, and now almoſt all the " higher grounds appeared, covered with num- " bers of armed men; and no aſſiſtance could " be brought, or no proviſions carried in, be- " cauſe the roads were all blocked up; ſome of " the officers, almoſt deſpairing of their own " ſafety, propoſed to abandon the baggage, to " ſally out, and puſh away for their preſervation " by the roads, through which they had marched " thither [q]. The greater part however agreed,

" to

[p] Bell. Gall. iii. 3. p. 87. " His nunciis acceptis, Galba, " quum neque opus hibernorum munitioneſque plenè eſſent " perfectæ, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu ſatis " eſſet proviſum; quòd, deditione factâ obſidibuſque acceptis, " nil de bello timendum exiſtimaverat; conſilio celeriter " convocato, ſententias exquirere cæpit."

[q] Ibid. p. 87. " Quo in conſilio, quum tantum repentini " periculi præter opinionem accidiſſet; ac jam omnia ferè " ſuperiora loca, multitudine armatorum completa conſpice- " rentur; neque ſubſidio veniri neque commeatus ſupportari,

" inter-

" to reſerve this meaſure for the laſt extremity, " in the mean time to wait the iſſue of an at- " tack, and to defend their entrenchments [r]. In " a ſhort time, ſo ſhort as hardly allowed them " an interval, for forming and ſettling their ar- " rangements agreeably to their reſolution; the " enemy, at a ſignal given, ran down from all " parts of the hills, and poured in their ſtones or " ſhort darts upon the ramparts [s]. Our men re- " ſiſted them gallantly at firſt, while they were " freſh in vigour; and did not diſcharge a ſingle " dart in vain, from the ſummit of their works [t]. " As any part of their entrenchments ſeemed " to be deprived of its defendants, and to be " preſſed by the enemy; there they advanced, " and ſupported one another [u]. But they be-

" interclusis itineribus, poſſet; propè jam deſperatâ ſalute, " nonnullæ hujuſmodi ſententiæ dicebantur, ut impedimentis " relictis, eruptione factâ, iiſdem itineribus quibus eò per- " veniſſent ad ſalutem contenderent."

[r] Bell. Gall. iii. 3. p. 87. " Majori tamen parti placuit, hôc " reſervato ad extremum conſilio, interim rei eventum expe- " riri, et caſtra defendere."

[s] Ibid. 4. p. 88. " Brevi ſpatio interjecto, vix ut his rebus, " quas conſtituiſſent, collocandis atque adminiſtrandis tempus " daretur; hoſtes ex omnibus partibus, ſigno dato, decur- " rere, lapides gæſaque in vallum conjicere."

[t] Ibid. p. 88. " Noſtri, primò integris viribus fortiter re- " pugnare; neque ullum fruſtra telum ex loco ſuperiore " mittere."

[u] Ibid. p. 88. " Ut quæque pars caſtrorum, nudata defen- " ſoribus, premi videbatur; eò accurrere, et auxilium ferre."

" gan to ſink at laſt; becauſe the enemy re-
" tired out of the battle, as they grew wea-
" ried with the length of it, and were relieved
" by freſh men from behind; while our ſol-
" diers were not able to do ſo, from their few-
" neſs [v]. With our ſoldiers, not only could not
" the weary retire from fight; even the wounded
" were not at liberty to relinquiſh their ſtations,
" and to ſhelter themſelves behind [w]. Both ſides
" had now gone on in one continued engage-
" ment, for more than ſix hours [x]. Then our
" ſoldiers wanted ſtrength, and even weapons [y].
" The enemy preſſed on with greater keenneſs;
" our ſoldiers acted with more faintneſs [z]. The
" enemy began to fill up the ditches, and to cut
" down the ramparts; and our men were now
" reduced to the laſt extremity [a]. Then P. Sex-
" tius

[v] Bell. Gall. iii. 4. p. 88. " Sed hôc ſuperari, quòd diutur-
" nitate pugnæ hoſtes defeſſi prælio excedebant, alii integris
" ſuccedebant; quarum rerum a noſtris, propter paucitatem,
" fieri nihil poterat."

[w] Ibid. p. 88. " Ac non modò defeſſo, ex pugnâ excedendi;
" ſed ne ſaucio quidem, ejus loci ubi conſtiterat relinquendi,
" ac ſui recipiendi, facultas dabatur."

[x] Ibid. 5. p. 88. " Quum jam ampliùs horis ni continenter
" pugnaretur."

[y] Ibid. p. 88. " Ac non ſolùm vires, ſed etiam tela, noſtris
" deficerent."

[z] Ibid. p. 88. " Atque hoſtes acriùs inſtarent, languidiori-
" buſque noſtris."

[a] Ibid. p. 88-89. " Vallum ſcindere et foſſas complere
" cœpiſſent;

" tius Baculus, the higheſt officer in the legion " next to the particular commandants, who had " received many ſevere wounds in the battle " againſt the Nervii before; and alſo Caius Vo- " luſenus, one of the commandants, a man of " great judgment and gallantry; run up to " Galba, and tell him, That the only hope of pre- " ſervation is in making a ſally, and trying the " laſt reſource of war [b]. Galba accordingly aſ- " ſembles the centurions, and by them appriſes " the ſoldiers inſtantly to deſiſt a moment from " fighting, only to pick up the weapons which " were diſcharged at them, and recover them- " ſelves from their fatigue; then, on his giving " the ſignal, to burſt out of the entrenchments, " and to place all their hopes of preſervation in " their valour [c]. This they do, ſuddenly ſally " out at all the gates, and leave not the enemy

" cœpiſſent; reſque eſſet jam ad extremum deducta ca- " ſum."

[b] Bell. Gall. iii. 4. p. 89. " P. Sextius Baculus, primipili " centurio, quem Nervico prælio compluribus confectum vul- " neribus diximus; et item C. Voluſenus, tribunus militum, " vir et conſilii magni et virtutis; ad Galbam occurrunt, " atque unam eſſe ſpem ſalutis docent, ſi, eruptione factâ, " extremum auxilium experirentur."

[c] Ibid. p. 89. " Itaque, convocatis centurionibus, celeriter " milites certiores facit, pauliſper intermitterent prælium, ac " tantummodo tela miſſa exciperent, ſeque ex labore refi- " cerent; pòſt, ſigno dato, e caſtris erumperent, atque omnem " ſpem ſalutis in virtute ponerent."

" time, either to know what was meant, or to " form in bodies for reſiſting them [d]. Thus was " the fortune of the day all changed; and thoſe " who had entertained hope of forcing the en- " trenchments, were ſurrounded and ſlain [e]. Of " more than thirty thouſand men, who (it ap- " pears) had come to ſtorm the entrenchments, " more than a third was killed [f]. The reſt fled " away in fear; and our men even chaſed them " beyond the hills adjoining [g]. All the forces of " the enemy being now routed, and having " now left their arms behind them in the flight; " our own men return to their camp, and within " their entrenchments [h]. But after all was over, " as Galba was unwilling to run the ſame riſk " again, remembered he came to winter there " with another view," that of ſecuring THE ROAD,

[d] Bell. Gall. iii. 6. p. 89. " Quod juſſi ſunt faciunt, ac " ſubitò omnibus portis eruptione factâ, neque cognoſcendi " quid fieret, neque ſui colligendi, hoſtibus facultatem relin- " quunt."

[e] Ibid. p. 89. " Ita commutatâ fortunâ, eos qui in ſpem " potiendorum caſtrorum venerant, undique circumventos, " interficiunt."

[f] Ibid. p. 89. " Ex hominum millibus amplius xxx (quem " numerum Barbarorum ad caſtra veniſſe conſtabat) plus ter- " tiâ parte interfectâ."

[g] Ibid. p. 89. " Reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt, " ac ne in locis quidem ſuperioribus conſiſtere patiuntur."

[h] Ibid. p. 89. " Sic omnibus hoſtium copiis fuſis, armiſque " exutis, ſe in caſtra munitioneſque ſuas recipiunt."

which

which he could not ſecure as the Seduni had thus broke out into war again, "and ſaw he "ſhould attend to other points," of over-awing the Allobroges about Geneva and along the deſcent of the Rhone; "but principally influenced "by his want of corn and other proviſions; the "next day he burned down all the buildings of "the town, and ſet out on his return into the "dominions of Rome," then including not only Provence, ſo denominated from being the firſt province of Rome in France, but alſo all Dauphiny, and all the country caſt as far as Geneva [i]. "And, there being no enemy to bar or to retard "his march, he brought the legion ſafe into the "country of the NANTUATES, thence into that of "the Allobroges; and wintered there [k]."

In this narration, as in a magick mirrour, we have already ſeen the three nations that have been ſo long dead to the hiſtory of Hannibal, all alive and active near two centuries after him. Theſe we find to be continually denominated Gauls; to have roads iſſuing out of the reſt of Gaule

[i] Bell. Gall. iii. 6. p. 89. "Quo prælio facto, quòd ſæpiùs "fortunam tentare Galba nolebat, atque alio ſeſe in hiberna "conſilio veniſſe meminerat, aliis occurriſſe rebus videbat; "maximè, frumenti commeatûſque inopiâ permotus; poſtero "die, omnibus ejus vici ædificiis incenſis, in Provinciam re "verti contendit."

[k] Ibid. p. 89. "Ac, nullo hoſte prohibente aut iter demo"rante, incolumem legionem in Nantuates, inde in Allobroges, "perducit; ibique hiemavit."

at Geneva, and falling into THE ROAD over the Alps into Italy. But we have alſo a particular view of the country, in it; this glaſs of hiſtory, as we look through it, exhibiting objects with more clearneſs, becauſe with more minuteneſs. OCTODURUS, we obſerve, was "a ſmall town of the "VERAGRI,—that lies in a valley, with a plain of "a moderate ſize adjoining to it, and ſurrounded "on all ſides by very lofty hills." It was alſo "divided in two by a river." We read likewiſe of "the hills hanging over the town;" which "were occupied by a very great body of SEDUNI," the natives of the hills, "and of VERAGRI," the natives of the valley. The town, therefore, was at the confines of the two nations. But theſe united forces had a *road*, by which, "when they "themſelves ſhould run down from the hills "into the valley," and throw in their weapons among the Romans, they thought "theſe could "not ſtand their firſt charge." So near to the town, and ſo ſteep in itſelf, was this road from the mountains! Along this road they actually "ran "down from all parts of the hills, and poured in "their ſtones or ſhort darts upon the rampart." This was the road alſo, by which the ſoldiery of Cæſar entered the mountains, when "the Se-"duni" were "conquered upon the Alps" by them; and by which they again "chaſed them" from Octodurus, "beyond the hills adjoining." And this was evidently THE ROAD, which Cæſar wanted to "lay open," and "by which—the mer-

"chants

" chants had uſed to travel." Galba marched into the country to lay it open, attacked the Seduni upon the line of it, and took poſt for the winter at the entrance into it. All theſe notices combine, to point out MARTIGNY for Octodurus deciſively! All theſe rays of intelligence are caught ſeparately in our ſpeculum, but are thrown off to converge at Martigny, and at Martigny unite in full luſtre. Martigny lies equally in a valley, has equally a ſmall plain adjoining to it, is equally encircled with very lofty mountains, the mountains on both ſides of the Rhone, and is equally divided by a river, the Drance [l]. Martigny is alſo ſituated at the foot of a mountain, and is even ſo near; that but for a wood which covers the foot, which equally covered the foot of Hannibal's Alps at the entrance, and is preſerved with the greateſt care by the inhabitants, the town would infallibly be deſtroyed by the overwhelming balls of ſnow from the mountain [m]. A road too aſcends from it up the mountain, to go over the Alps into Italy; and this remains a grand celebrated paſs, to the preſent moment [n]. On account of this, the Romans laid a road out

[l] Coxe i. 390.

[m] Sauſſure iv. 290. " Situé au pied de la montagne. Il " en eſt meme ſi près, que ſans une forêt qui couvre le pied " de cette montagne, et que l'on conſerve avec le plus grand " ſoin, il ſeroit infalliblement detruit par les avalanches." Livy xxi. 32. " Saltum."

[n] Coxe i. 36, and Bourrit 28-29.

of *Helvetia* to *Octodurus*, which is now the great way out of *Switzerland* to *Martigny* [o]. It ran by Aventicum, and now runs by Avenches; by Minnidunum or Modon, Vibiſcum or Vevay, and Pennelocos or Penne, to Tarnada or St. Maurice; croſſing the road at the laſt town by a bridge of ſtone, which is much admired for its bold projection, as being a ſingle arch of a hundred and thirty feet in the ſpan, and one of the few remains of the Romans at it. A ſecond road of the Romans, too, falls into that at Vevay; coming from "Lacum Loſenne" or Lauſanne, appearing viſible to this day between Lauſanne and Vevay, and going with that road from Vevay to Martigny. This common way out of Switzerland

[o] This country is now called the land of the *Swiſs* or Switzerland, from that hard pronunciation of the letter *s*, which marks the provincial ſpeech of our own Somerſetſhire at preſent; which in Germany goes ſtill farther, gives the tone of a *t* or *d* to it, ſo changes the local appellations *Taberna* into *Zabern*, *Tolbiacum* into *Zulpich*, and *Tigurium* into Zurich; which is heard even in Italy, and forms Abruzzo in writing into Abru*dz*o on the tongue, Are*z*ium into Arezzo, and Son*z*ius into Iſon*z*e; actually lurks unknown to ourſelves in our Engliſh modes of writing, and abbreviates the Roman *videlicet* into our antiquated *viz.* The pronunciation therefore is old and original, and Somerſetſhire is ſingular only becauſe the other counties have innovated. It is actually found among the Romans, their *Eporædia* being written *Eporizio* in their very Notitia (c. 180). It is even found among our *Britiſh anceſtors*, *Brezonek* for the language of Bretagné being pronounced and written Brezonek, and Ladock in Cornwall being always denominated Lazock.

unites

unites with Cæſar's and with Hannibal's route from Geneva, at the town of Tarnada or St. Maurice, and goes on with it to Octodurus or Martigny; in order to *aſcend the Alps there*, and to *puſh acroſs them into Lombardy* [p]. It did ſo, formerly; and it does ſo, at preſent. Martigny thus remains at this day, what Octodurus muſt have been before, the grand center of the trade between Switzerland and Italy; the merchandize, that went over the Alps in the days of Cæſar, ſtill continuing to croſs them, and by this very channel of communication; and all, that is conveyed over the mountains from either ſide, being regularly depoſited at Martigny for this [q]. The town accordingly *glories*, to uſe the language of cuſtom and propriety united, in poſſeſſing ſome Roman remains within it. It ſhows a Roman inſcription upon a ſtone, which has been worked up into the ſtructure of the church, and appears in an angle of it. It ſhows a ſecond on a ſtone,

[p] Bertius ii. 22 for the Itinerary of Antoninus, Second Segment of Peutinger's Tables, Breval's Firſt Travels ii. 35, 37, 39-46, Coxe ii. 71-74 and i. 394, Bourrit i. 19, and Sketch 71-83. Octodurus took its name apparently, from the *Dur* or water of *Oët*; the other name in Celtick, for the Drance on which it ſtands. See D'Anville 513-514 for Penne. Vinomagus between Modon and Vevay in Peutinger's Tables, is St. Sapphorin, where is a Roman mile-ſtone with an inſcription; the diſtances in the Tables and the Itinerary, appearing evidently falſe on a collation with the mile-ſtone and the reality (Coxe ii. 73-74).

[q] Sketch 81-82.

in the hinder porch of the church. Theſe two have been thus preſerved, to gratify the hiſtorical curioſity of the preſent age; while others have aſſuredly been broken in pieces, for want of ſuch a repoſitory, or turned with their inſcriptions inward, for want of ſo much taſte in placing them [r].

Martigny

[r] "It is ſaid," as Mr. Coxe informs us i. 390-391, "that "*near* this place may be *traced* the remains of Sergius Gal- "ba's *camp*.—I cannot however aſcertain from my own ob- "ſervation, whether any *traces* of a Roman *encampment* ſtill "remain; nor could I gain the leaſt information from the "inhabitants; ſo that the conjecture concerning the ſituation "of Octodurum [or Octodurus], reſts only upon the faith of "antiquarians, and on the general poſition of the country." So does this ſpirited, enterpriſing, and judicious traveller allow himſelf at the preſent moment, to write like a mere antiquary, and to overlook the hiſtory! From this I have already proved Martigny, to be Octodurus. The "camp" or encampment of Galba, too, was not "near" the town, but was the very town itſelf; and only that half of the town, which the Romans poſſeſſed. "Quum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, "alteram partem ejus vici Gallis conceſſit, alteram, vacuam "ab illis relictam, cohortibus ad hiemandum attribuit; eum "locum vallo foſſâque munivit." But this ditch and this rampart were perhaps deſtroyed *immediately*, on the retreat of the Romans from their half, and the re-poſſeſſion of the whole by the Veragri. Even if they were not, they muſt long ſince have been covered with the growing buildings of the town, moſt probably in the Roman and middle ages, perhaps in the preſent. "The fairs, which are held here, and its central ſitua- "tion, render it flouriſhing" (Sketch 82). See alſo the next ſection at the beginning, for the Roman and middle ages.

"Martiniacus

Martigny however conſiſts of two towns, the Bourg and the Ville. The latter, to ſpeak in the language of the country concerning it, and in the language of all countries where ſtones are not erected or computed miles uſed, is *a quarter of an hour* from the former, or, in our own mode of reckoning ſpace, three quarters of a mile from it; equally upon the channel of the Drance, but lower down the current, and near its termination in the Rhone. *This* was the *only* town in the days of Hannibal, and ſtill exults in the appropriate appellation of the Ville or town of Martigny. But it is much leſs conſiderable than the Bourg, at preſent; which appears from its name, to have been occaſioned by its caſtle, and

" Martiniacus vicus," ſays Simler, " eſt Octodorum vete-
" rum—; nam qui Octodorum inferiori loco oſtendunt, et
" veſtigia ejus eluvione Dranſæ et Rhodani deleta volunt,
" nullâ firmâ ratione nituntur. Nam primùm, ut Cæſar de-
" ſcribit, Octodorus vicus poſitus in valle, non magnâ adjectâ
" planicie, altiſſimis montibus undique contînetur, et in duas
" partes flumine dividitur; *quæ deſcriptio Martiniaco optimè*
" *convenit.* Flumen autem non Rhodanum intelligi à Cæſare,
" ſed *Dranſam*, *Eutropius oſtendit*, qui *torrentem* nominat; et,
" Rhodani, celeberrimi fluvii, nomen Cæſar haud reticuiſſet.
" —Quo minùs illi audiendi ſunt, qui longiùs a Poenino Octo-
" dorum removent; minimè omnium, qui Octodorum eſſe
" volunt S. Mauritii oppidum. Poſtremò, inſcriptiones Ro-
" manæ vetuſtatem hujus loci teſtantur." He then notices the two in my text. But now the town is, he adds, " frequen-
" tior et notior propter mercatores, quibus hàc frequens per
" Alpes iter eſt" (p. 85-87).

has

has been built three quarters of a mile nearer to the pafs into the Alps[*], in order to guard it. There it has the road into this pafs, another that pufhes into the collateral Alps of Savoy, and a third that courfes the whole valley of the Rhone, all uniting at it. But the caftle had been built before the days of Cæfar, and had produced a town at it before. This town indeed is the very Octodurus noticed by him. It was then divided by the Drance, as it now is, into two parts. It had then probably, as it now has, a wretched bridge of wood without any rails to the fides, for connecting the two parts, and croffing the large, rapid, agitated current there. Of thefe parts the eaftern is the half, that was then configned to the natives; and the weftern, what was occupied by the foldiery. Both thefe together are the Martigny, which is fituated fo near to the foot of the mountains, that it would infallibly be deftroyed by the overwhelming balls of fnow from them, if it was not protected by the wood upon their bafe; and which the mountaineers of Cæfar might well think they fhould ftorm at once, in a violent run from the hills hanging over it. The weftern half was feized by the Romans, becaufe it is naturally much ftronger than the other. In it, and over againft what is now, and

[*] Sauffure iv. 290-291, "un quart d'heure," and a note in vol. ii. ch. ii. fect. 3. Borgoni's map is very erroneous here, in its meafures.

probably

probably was too in the time of Cæſar, the main part of this daughter-town; is a high, ſteep, and craggy rock, impending over the Drance. The ſummit is large enough to carry a caſtle upon it, which was at firſt, I ſuppoſe, a fort or ſtation of the Veragri to guard the paſs, but has ſince become the palace of a biſhop; and even now appears majeſtic in its ruins. Yet theſe conſiſt only of a ſingle tower at preſent, very antique in its appearance, rearing its head very high, having the Drance impetuous at its foot, and ſhowing walls of twelve feet in thickneſs. And, ſtanding as it does at the very elbow of the great valley, we have from it a moſt extenſive view of the whole; and can trace the Rhone with the eye, almoſt from its ſource in the caſtern Alps, to its termination in the lake on the weſt. About three quarters of a mile to the ſouth of this, do the mountains open for the grand paſs over them [1].

— VI. —

[1] Coxe i. 391, Sketch 82, and Sauſſure 290-291, 315-317. Simler 82 ſays thus: "*Saxo* etiam," the Bourg of Martigny, commonly called *Saxon*, from the *Saxum* or rock on which the *original bourg* or caſtle was built (ſee Map in Sketch), exactly as another caſtle is called at no great diſtance from it (Simler 49), "vicus Octodoro propinquus, Intremontiorum "eſt, unà cum *Arce*, quæ *in præruptâ rupe* quondam hôc loco "habitabatur, ſed bello Veragrorum diruta eſt:" and 84 thus; "vicus Martiniacus ad *dexteram* Danſæ [Dranſæ] fluvii," to the right or north-eaſt, as the author comes along the valley from eaſt to weſt, "cujus *alterâ* parte *Arx in præcipiti petrâ* "ſita

— VI. —

HAVING thus exhibited the region through which Hannibal has been long marching, and the town, the pafs to which he is marching, in all the lively funfhine which that luminary of hiftory, Cafar, here throws upon them; I now proceed to place Hannibal, *in* the town and *at* the pafs.

He had fpent ten days, in marching from Lyons to Geneva, and in traverfing only about a hundred miles of ground. A detachment from his army however, which was fent along the weftern fide of the Rhone, in order to crofs privately above, and to facilitate the paffage of the whole army over it; had marched no lefs than five and twenty miles nearly, in one day [n]. This indeed

" fita eft, quam, aliquoties vaftatam, Epifcopi Sillinius et Mat-
" theus Cardinalis reftituerunt; *hôc loco* via per Alpes," &c. The *former* of thefe, " anno 1482, epifcopatum Sedunorum
" adeptus, cum ædificandi ftudiofus eflet, vetera templa et ædi-
" ficia publica paffim totâ regione inftauravit; *Arces Octodo-*
" *renfem* et Agaunenfem, fuperiori bello combuftas, *novas de*
" *integro extruxit*" (p. 154). Under the *latter* of thefe, who immediately fucceeded the other, " *Arcem Octodorenfem*, fe-
" meftri tempore oppugnatam, et demum fub conditionibus
" deditam, [Vallefiani] in odium Cardinalis combuffere" (p. 166); and the whole has remained in ruins ever fince.

[n] Livy xxi. 27. " Iter unius diei—, inde millia quinque et
" viginti ferme."

was

was a party, without elephants, without baggage. But the whole army marched up to Lyons afterward, a length of about ſeventy-five miles, in four days; which is a ſtage of eighteen or nineteen, for each [y]. A march therefore of only ten a day, and this continued for ten days together, proves ſufficiently the very ſlow and very cautious manner, in which he had proceeded ſince he left Lyons.

He then marched from Geneva about ſixty miles; reached Martigny; ſo ſtood under the very baſe of the Alps, and in the very mouth of the paſs into them. He prepared inſtantly to aſcend them by it. But as Livy tells us with that pictureſque vivacity of repreſentation, which conſtitutes a principal felicity in hiſtoric writing, and into which Polybius is always too heavy to aſcend; the ſoldiery were greatly ſtruck, with the very near appearance of theſe wonderful mountains. Objects, that are indiſtinctly known to the mind, are generally exaggerated in the report. Obſcurity of diſcernment gives free play, to the powers of imagination; and the clouds lend a higher altitude to the ſky, than ever nature has lent it. They had heard many and moſt formidable accounts, concerning the Alps; but now beheld them, rearing immediately before their

[y] Sect. 1ſt and 2d before.

eyes.

eyes. The mountains there are actually of a ſtupendous height [w]. They ſurveyed their riſing ſides and elevated heads. They looked at the ſnows on their tops, almoſt mingling with the ſky. They gazed at the ill-ſhapen houſes, pitched upon the rocks along the lower and nearer parts of the mountains; the flocks and the herds there, rough with the cold: the men, hairy and ſavage in their appearance; the animate and inanimate creation, all ſtiffened over with ice [x]. The Alpine mountaineers were then marked as they are to this day, by their long, ſhaggy hair, and by the wild appearance which this gives them [y].

[w] Moore's View i. 244.

[x] Livy xxi. 32. "Tum, quanquam famâ priùs (quâ incerta in majus vero ferri ſolent) præ-cepta res erat; tamen ex propinquo viſa montium altitudo, niveſque cœlo propè immixtæ, tecta informia impoſita rupibus, pecora jumentaque torrida [horrida] frigore, homines intonſi et inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu." I boldly ſubſtitute *horrida* for *torrida*, in defiance of what I ſuppoſe to be the reading in all the editions, and is certainly in all that I have ſeen; becauſe an authority ſuperiour to all editions, common-ſenſe, compels me to do ſo. The circumſtances noted are all objects of ſight; *horrida* forms this into one, but *torrida* does not. *Torrida* indeed has no meaning at all, as applied to any effect of the cold viſible upon the herds and flocks; while *horrida* has a very good one, ſuited to the ſcene deſcribed, and poetically expreſſive.

[y] Gray 67, Watkins i. 180, and theſe lines in Silius Italicus,

Illuvie rigidæque comæ ſqualore perenni,
Horrida ſemiferi promunt e rupibus ora.

But in general the Carthaginians fancied more than they ſaw. Terrour works upon the mind and upon the eye at once, ſo gives a double obſcurity to the diſcernment, and conſequently lends a double play to the imagination. Fancy thus heightened the ſcene, that viſion preſented. They therefore roughened up all the cattle with cold, and ſtiffened over all the objects with ice; when there could have been no ice, and even no cold, amid the warm air of the Vallais at this ſeaſon, and within any reach of their eye-ſight, in which they could diſtinguiſh either the ſtiffening or the roughneſs [z]. All the lower parts of the Alps indeed, at this very point of Martigny, are actually covered with rich paſtures [a]. Hannibal's Alps too at this very period of time, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, were in a high ſtate of cultivation for ſome miles upward; and, as Livy himſelf intimates here, had flocks and herds grazing upon them. But the eyes of the Carthaginians very naturally flew over the lower parts at firſt, and fixed upon the more lofty pikes of the mountains. There they marked ſuch a full diſplay of wild

[z] Coxe i. 385-386. "The weather in this incloſed vale is "ſo exceedingly hot, that I am at this inſtant, *although the* "*evening is far advanced*, quite oppreſſed with the extreme "ſultrineſs." From Sion, Auguſt the 19th.

[a] Moore's View i. 244. Simler 18, ſays of the Alps in general, that even in the *middle* of the mountains are moſt excellent paſtures, "montibus mediis præſtantiſſima paſcua."

and wintry grandeur, as might well ſtrike ſtrongly upon their feelings. Then the eye, drawing off from the painful object, endeavoured to reſt upon the lower grounds; but ſaw them through the miſts of thoſe apprehenſions, which had been already excited, and ſo dreſt them out in a terribleneſs, that was merely derivative and imaginary. They thus beheld ſufficient, to ſet their imaginations more actively to work. The mind, by brooding over its own terrours, quickened and invigorated them. And both reality and fancy united, to carry their terrours to their hearts [b].

[b] Livy xxi. 32. "Terrorem renovarunt."

Livy, in his deſcription of the Alps before, ſubjoins one circumſtance which I have not noticed in the formidable maſs; "cætera viſu, quàm dictu, foediora." What he particularly means by this, I believe, is the "Alpinum guttur" of theſe "homines intonſi et inculti." Mr. Gray notes it ſpecifically, in a tranſient account of the Alps. "The creatures that in-"habit them," he ſays p. 67, "are in all reſpects below hu-"manity; and moſt of them, eſpecially the women, have the "tumidum guttur, which they call goſcia." This ſingular excreſcence, which is ſo marking a part of the Alpine appearance, to every un-familiarized eye; and which would be equally diſcernible by the Carthaginians in this microſcopick viſion, as the roughneſs of the cattle from cold, and the ſtiffneſs of all objects from froſt; muſt be attributed to the Alpine waters, I think, as impregnated with metallick particles. Accordingly the diſorder in a leſſer degree is known among ourſelves, by the name of the *Derbyſhire* Wen. That county is at once the moſt Alpine and the moſt metallick, of any in the kingdom perhaps. "Etiam in Italiâ *equiculis*," ſays Munſter, "guttur "intumeſcit, *aquarum quas bibunt vitio*." Simler adds: "in "agro

" agro Tigurino ad Turum fluvium, proximè quà Rhenum " ingreditur, in villâ Flaach nomine *fons est qui bibentes gut-* " *turosos efficit*, ideòque *Strumarum Fons* nuncupatur" (p. 20--21)! These facts seem to ascertain the cause of this excrescence, decisively.

Since I wrote the above, Mr. Coxe has published a very sensible dissertation on the subject, in his Travels i. 397---406. He has plainly proved this Alpine Wen, to be occasioned by the waters; as I had done in a sentence or two, before. But he has not noticed the facts, in Munster and in Simler. He supposes indeed the impregnation of the waters, to be stony, not metallick; when waters strongly impregnated with stone, and forming great concretions round the inside of tea-kettles, &c. are found in every part of England, and our wens are confined to Derbyshire.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

— I. —

A Few miles to the eaſt of Martigny, and a little within the Upper Vallais, is the town of Sitten or Sion; undoubtedly a town, as early as the Romans. A few inſcriptions ſtill remain, to prove its Roman antiquity. Moſt of theſe are ſo obliterated, as only to ſhow themſelves Roman, without telling us any thing concerning the Romans. But one is more legible, and points out a ſtriking circumſtance concerning Sion; the town being expreſsly called in it, "Civitas Seduno-"rum" or the Capital of the Seduni. This ſhows it, to take its preſent name from the nation; the capitals of nations beginning in the 4th or 5th centuries, to carry the appellations of the nations themſelves; thoſe of the Ambiani, the Attrebates, the Paritii, and the Seduni, being denominated Amiens, Arras, Paris, and Sitten or Sion; and the Roman *civitas*, which had previ-

Coxe i. 388-389, and more correctly Simler 72-73.

ouſly

ouſly denoted the ſtate itſelf, then coming to ſignify the capital and a *city*. This inſcription was made in honour of Auguſtus, and during his eleventh conſulate[b], the year Twenty-three before the Chriſtian Æra. *Juſt two years before*, Auguſtus reduced the inhabitants of this part of the Alps[c]. He then took Sion, which belonged before to the Veragri; and gave it to the Seduni. Theſe he found, as Cæſar had found them a little before, confined entirely to the mountains. There we ſhall ſoon ſee their principal city, to have been in the days of Hannibal. But now, on this grant from Auguſtus, the Seduni were glad, like the original Scots of our own Highlands, to extend their dominions into the low countries before them, and even to ſettle their metropolis in them. The river Morge to the weſt of Sion, that boundary of the Upper Vallais at preſent, is ſo in all probability, becauſe it became the boundary of the Seduni and Veragri at this period. But as that ceſſion of a part of the Veragrian lands on the eaſt, produced this *early* memorial of gratitude from the Sioneſe to Auguſtus, the Seduni of it naturally expreſſing their thankfulneſs to their "Patron[d]," ſo a ſimilar ceſſion of the Veragrian lands to the weſt, drew

[b] Coxe i. 388-389, and more correctly Simler 72-73.

[c] Dio liii. 25. p. 719-720.

[d] Simler 73-74. "Civitas Sedunorum Patrono."

forth an equal memorial from the Nantuates of St. Maurice, and an equal acknowledgment of Auguſtus for their "Patron" too[r]. From both we ſee, that the Nantuates and the Seduni revolted from their brethren of the Alps and of the Alpine Valley, while the Veragri adhered firmly to them; and that thoſe deſerted the cauſe, which theſe maintained, againſt the Romans. But thus did Sion become the capital of the Seduni, as it had been (I apprehend) the metropolis of the Veragri before. This metropolis was now fixed at Martigny; and the ſmall town of Cæſar became a conſiderable one, with his ſucceſſors. So early as the days of Ptolemy, it was important enough to engage his attention, amidſt a multiplicity of objects. Wildly aſſigning it to Rhœtia, and therefore placing it at the ſprings of the Rhine, in that general confuſedneſs of topography, by which he has thrown the Alps into the utmoſt diſorder of poſition; he ſingles out Octodurus or (as he calls it) Ectodurum for our notice, and gives us the very latitude and longitude of it[s]. And Martigny is acknowledged by the writers of the Vallais, to have been formerly the capital, not only of the Veragri, but, from ſome incidents unknown to hiſtory, of all the Vallais[t]. It accordingly became afterwards, and

[r] D'Anville 473, from Guichenon, "Nantuates Patruno."

[s] Ptolemy ii. 12. p. 61.

[t] Simler 85. "Martiniacus vicus eſt Octodorum veterum, "caput quondam Vallenſium."

very

very early, the ſeat of a Biſhop; Chriſtianity, wherever ſhe gained an entrance for herſelf, always introducing Epiſcopacy in her train; and forming for herſelf an epiſcopal polity, as ſoon as ever ſhe had a ſufficiency of ſubjects for it. The Biſhop thus took up his reſidence at the capital, and the kingdom became his dioceſs. Theodorus, Biſhop of Martigny, actually aſſiſted as repreſentative for all the Vallais, at the Council of Aquileia in 381. But the ſee appears to have been at Martigny and at Sion, conjointly, as Sigebert notices Florentinus for Biſhop of *Sion* in 411; as another Theodorus appears Biſhop of *Sion*, after the year 500; and as Conſtantius and Rufus equally appear Biſhops of *Martigny*, in 510 and 546. The caſtle on the rock at the Bourg, then became the palace of the Biſhop, as it remained to the deſtruction of it, and as a caſtle near Sion remains to the preſent moment [h]. The Biſhops of the Vallais ceaſed in the ſixth century, to uſe the name of Martigny for that of their ſee; and have ever ſince denominated themſelves, by the name of Sion only [i]. Martigny had ſuffered much in the wars, which thoſe, who had thrown the Roman Empire to the ground, inſtantly began in quarrelling for the ſpoils. It drooped under the blow, and ſhrunk back to the village which it was in

[h] Bourrit i. 29, and Simler 117-118.

[i] Simler 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138-9, 141, 142, 147.

the days of Cæsar [k]. In such a manner does the wheel of the world perform its revolutions, carry up towns and states with it to the top, and then bear them with it to the bottom again [l].

At

[k] "Cum Burgundiæ reges, sub quorum imperio Veragri "et Seduni erant, assiduis bellis peterentur a Francis; cùm "universa vallis, tum Octodorum, multa perpessum vastatum-"que fuit, et ab eo tempore nunquam pristinam dignitatem "recuperare potuit. Episcopatus tamen apud Sedunos per-"mansit; Octodori verò, in locum oppidi vicus successit" (Simler 87). The power, which Coxe i. 380, mentions the Bishop of the Vallais to have had and have, was given by Charlemagne after the separation of Martigny from Sion (Simler 129).

[l] Simler notes p. 86, that the "Octodorenses," or people of Martigny, on the Roman reduction of the country, were "Latio donati." But he here mis-interprets Pliny iii. 20, as others have done before him. I have already corrected this mistake, and now correct it with some addition in him. "Sunt "præterea Latio donati incolæ," Pliny tells us, "ut Octodu-"renses, et *finitimi* Centrones, *Cottianæ* civitates." The Octodurenses appear plainly to be *neighbours*, to the Centrones of the Tarentaise; and to be equally with them *Cottian* states, or states on the hills near Mount Genévre. They can therefore be only what I have made them before, the people of Avencon on the Durance in Dauphiny.—Yet D'Anville has enlarged the errour, by saying 505 that "les *Veragri* sont designés dans "Pline par le nom d'*Octodurenses*;" when Pliny really makes them one of the *Cottian* states, and *neighbours* to the *Cottian* Centrones; and when he actually notices the Veragri afterwards, as a tribe totally distinct from both, "Nantuates, Se-"duni, *Veragri*" (iii. 20).—But to these falsehoods of antiquarianism let me subjoin a truth respecting life, a singular discovery

At Martigny the hills riſe by one continued aſcent, and along the waving courſe of the often-mentioned road into them, for ſix miles together. Thoſe hills open immediately to the ſouth of Martigny, in order to admit this road. The opening is about eighty paces in breadth, occupied for the greateſt part by the river Drance; and bordered by the rocks of a hill, that frequently preſent a wild, ſavage appearance even now. But the road itſelf runs in one continued and narrow defile, to the top of this firſt ledging of mountains[m]. This, in the days of Hannibal, was the only formed channel of communication betwixt Gaule and Italy. Here the army of Hannibal was now to enter the great trunk of the

diſcovery of M. Bourrit's concerning the natives of Martigny. "Les femmes," he ſays, "ici gouvernent les hommes; leur "volonté ſont des loix: ce qu'il y a de remarquable, c'eſt que "*les hommes ſe trouvent bien de l'empire du ſex*," a mode of expreſſion, that *ſounds* like the voice of an old batchelor, but, as appears from the ſequel, only *ſounds* ſo, "et que *les maiſons les* "*plus opulentes, les plus heureuſes*, ſont d'ordinaire *celles que les* "*femmes gouvernent*" (i. 30.). This is highly to the honour of the ſex; and I recommend the example to my married and unmarried countrymen. A Martigny wife, ſurely, cannot be a better governour than a Britiſh one. I ſhall therefore be glad to ſee the huſbands of Britain, like thoſe of Martigny, all governed by their wives, and all happy under their government. Nor is my recommendation founded entirely upon ſpeculation. Experience has added her important ſanction. Who then can diſpute the doctrine? Who will not make the experiment?

[m] Bourrit i. 31, iii. 286, and Sauſſure iv. 287-290.

Alps;

Alps; and by it to paſs over this celebrated ridge of mountains, into the grand region of their deſtination. His army, as we have ſeen before, conſiſted of infantry, cavalry, and elephants. Nor was this all. He was attended by a ſtring of horſes for carrying burdens[n]. He was alſo accompanied by a train of draught-horſes and wheel-carriages, for drawing loads[o]. While *theſe* tranſported the proviſions, *thoſe* conveyed the reſt of the baggage[p]; which, as the whole army very ſurpriſingly carried no perſonal and private baggage with them[q], could conſiſt only of the tents, the poles for erecting them, and the tools for faſtening them. The carriages aſſuredly were the ſame, with the cars of Ireland and the Highlands at this day; then uſed by the Gauls and Spaniards, and peculiarly calculated for the roads of mountains; moving on low wheels about three feet only from each other, and being drawn each of them by a ſingle horſe.

[n] Polybius iii. 51. Αχθοφορων.

[o] Ibid. ibid. Υποζυγιων. Let me here obſerve, that the tranſlator has made no diſtinction, whatever his author may have done. Though Polybius ſpeaks ſo diſtinctively, Mr. Hampton knows of none but "the beaſts that conveyed the "baggage," the "beaſts of burthen," and "the beaſts that "were loaded with the baggage" (i. 356---357). In ſo confounding a mirrour are the features of Polybius exhibited!

[p] Polybius iii. 60. Τροφων and υποζυγιων.

[q] Polybius iii. 35. Τας αποσκευας απελιπε τουτω, Hanno in Spain, τον αυτω συνεξορμωντων.

The

The breadth of them therefore would not be more, than the length of the packs upon the burden-horses, or than the width of the narrowest ways within the Alps at present.

But, though the Nantuates and the Veragri of the valley had shown Hannibal no opposition, as they equally showed none to Cæsar's detachment afterwards; yet the Seduni of the mountains determined to show him some, as they also did to Cæsar. Though not re-inforced by the Veragri now, they resolved to resist his entrance into their country. For this purpose they had collected a large body of their soldiery, and had at this moment brought them down to the avenue into it. Hannibal, however, knew nothing of their designs. He therefore ordered his troops to advance, and enter the avenue. In that critical moment, had this Alpine nation taken some secret position, concealed themselves in some of the many hollows of the mountains, suffered the Carthaginians to enter the pass and extend along it, then attacked them as they were struggling through it; they would have completely destroyed their army. But they openly took post upon the hills, at the entrance of the pass[r]. They

[r] Polybius iii. 50. Οι δε περι τον Αννιβαν ηρξαντο προαγειν εις τας δασχωριας·—ικανον το πληθος προκατελαβοντο τους ευκαιρους τοπους, δι' ων εδει τους περι τον Αννιβαν κατ' αναγκην ποιεισθαι την αναβολην· ει μεν εν εκρυψαν

They thus disclosed their design by their appearance. They were seen by the Carthaginians now, as they were by the Romans afterward, all ranged upon the hills in sight of Martigny. And as soon as Hannibal was apprized of the fact by his vanguard, and by those Gauls who had come to him on the embassy from their countrymen in Italy, who had since been his guides and conductors to the Alps, and were therefore at this moment marching with the van; he commanded it to halt [1]. The Seduni and the Veragri of Cæsar were conspicuous to the Romans, because these were within the Bourg; and the Seduni would now appear almost equally conspicuous to the Carthaginians, as these were within the Ville. Hannibal therefore stopped the advanced part of his army. He afterwards saw that he could not force the posts immediately, and therefore encamped with the whole upon the little plain, which is about one mile and a half across, extending from the Ville to the mountains. He is

εκρυψαν την επινοιαν, ολοσχερως αν διεφθειραν το στρατευμα των χαρχηδονιων· νυν δε καταφανεις γενομενοι. Livy xxi. 32. "Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos, apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes Montani, qui, si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti in pugnam repentè, ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent."

[1] Polybius iii. 50. Γνους γαρ ο στρατηγος των χαρχηδονιων, οτι προκατεχουσιν οι Βαρβαροι τους ευκαιρους τοπους, αυτος μεν κ. τ. λ. Livy xxi. 32. "Hannibal consistere signa jubet, Gallisque ad visenda loca præmissis." Livy hardly knows the just meaning of his own words.

thus

thus insinuated by Livy to have encamped in a narrow valley, the historian placing him "in as "very extended a vale as Hannibal could find [t]." He himself, as appears from the sequel, encamped with the van on the middle of the plain, and, as is shown by Livy, on what is now covered, and was covered in the days of Cæsar, with the buildings of the Bourg. He took post upon the rock of the castle, as the commanding eminence of the plain, as the nearest to the pass and the enemy. There he had the roots of it shooting out in crags around him, the sides descending long and steep from him, and the summit hanging particularly in a precipice over the impetuous Drance. He is accordingly described by Livy, faithful to reality even in the minutest touches of his pencil, to have "encamped amidst a broken "scene of crags and precipices [u]."

[t] Polybius iii. 50. Αὐτὸς μὲν καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, ὑπέμεινε. Livy xxi. 32. "Postquam comperit tran-"situm eâ non esse, castra—quàm extentissimâ potest valle "locat." On the very same plain, according to the story of the Theban legion, Maximian equally encamped. Those legionaries passing "e Syriâ Romam" and "per Alpes" from Rome, therefore by the Alps of Martigny, "in *castra* Impera-"toris, quæ Octodori erant, pervenêre. Maximianus Impe-"rator in amœnâ *planitie* sub urbe, non longè a Rhodano, "*consederat*; et, *exercitu lustrato*, in sua verba sacramentum "dare postulabat" (Simler 109).

[u] Livy xxi. 32. "Castra inter confragosa omnia prærupta-"que—locat."

Here

Here he continued for the rest of the day, viewing the enemy, surveying the hills, and forming his designs. The terrours of his men at the sight of the Alps, were now subdued by the stronger feelings excited in their hearts, from the view of those Alps covered with armed enemies; and forbidding an entrance into them. The fears of the man were thus lost, in the feelings of the soldier; and Livy, who has just before pointed them out, finds them not again. As soon as it was night, Hannibal dispatched away some of his Gallick guides; directing them to steal up the pass in the dark, to explore the intended operations of the Seduni, and to observe their actual position [v]. These stole in, accordingly. Then, as being equally Gauls with themselves, as living at the foot of their hills on the other side, and therefore agreeing wholly with them in language and in manners; they easily mingled with them, joined in their conversations, and penetrated into their plans [w]. The Seduni, they found, had kept their position only while the day lasted, and at night had retired to their town and villages ad-

[v] Polybius iii. 50. Προεπεμψε δε τινας των προκαθηκουμενων αυτοις Γαλατων, χαριν του κατεσκεψασθαι την των υπεναντιων επινοιαν, και τον ολην επιθεσιν.

[w] Livy xxi. 32. "Per eosdem Gallos, haud sane multùm "linguâ moribusque abhorrentes, quum se immiscuissent col-"loquiis montanorum," &c. This useful notice we owe entirely to Livy. Polybius has it not.

joining.

joining [x]. Then, in the course of the night, they returned through the pass again, and brought him this important intelligence. He immediately took his resolution upon it. To be near enough for the execution of this, he decamped early in the morning with his van, and marched across the rest of the plain, three quarters of a mile in extent, up to the very mouth of the defile; as if he meant to force a passage through it, immediately. The enemy were not near enough, to annoy him there; being posted on a hill, some way within the entrance. Yet as hesitating to push in, now he came to view the defile still nearer, to look up the narrow avenue, and to mark the hill beyond; he halted at the entrance. There he stood, as if every moment he meant to enter, and yet could not summon resolution enough to do so. He thus spent the whole day, in a threatening posture of offence, and in a timorous kind of inactivity; that were peculiarly calculated by their union, to lull an enemy into security, who knew nothing of Hannibal's character, who was unacquainted with the honest frauds of war, and, as all un-

[x] Polybius iii. 50. Τας μεν ημερας επιμελως παρευτακτουσι και τηρουσι τους τοπους οι πολεμιοι, τας δε νυκτας εις τινα παρακειμενην Πολιν απαλλαττονται. Livy xxi. 32. "Interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte "in sua quemque dilabi tecta." Here Polybius is more exact than Livy, in mentioning the *town*. But then Livy is more exact than Polybius, in noticing the villages afterward, xxi. 33. "Ex castellis."

diſciplined ſoldiery are, was only for prompt efforts in himſelf or in others [y].

Having thus thrown away the day, in a ſeemingly unmeaning ſuſpenſe of action; at evening he pitched his tents and formed his camp, on the very ground upon which he had been halting ſo long [z]. He then ordered his men to light their fires and take their ſuppers, as uſual [a]. This act would naturally be the ſignal for the Seduni, to withdraw their troops, and retire into their villages and town. Hannibal ſent out his Gauls again, to watch their movements; and received intelligence, that they were gone [b]. He therefore left his foot, his baggage-men, his elephant-drivers, and his troopers, all ſitting about their reſpective fires, and dreſſing their reſpective ſuppers [c]. He only picked out ſome choice men from ſuch a detachment

[y] Polybius iii. 50. Συνεγγισας ταις δυσχωριαις, ου μακραν των πολεμιων κατεστρατοπεδευσε. Livy xxi. 32. "Luce primâ ſubiit "tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu vim per anguſtias fac- "turus; die deinde ſimulando aliud quàm quod parabatur "conſumpto."

[z] Livy xxi. 32. "Die—conſumpto, quum eôdem quo con- "ſtiterant loco caſtra communiſſent," &c. Livy is particularly uſeful here. Without him, we ſhould not have underſtood the meaning of this movement.

[a] Polybius iii. 50. Της δε νυκτος επιγενομενης, συνταξας τα πυρα [illegible].

[b] Livy xxi. 32. "Ubi primùm degreſſos tumulis Montanos, "laxataſque *ſenſit* cuſtodias."

[c] Ibid. "Impedimentiſque cum equite relictis, et maximâ "parte peditum."

of

of foot, as *we* have lately introduced into our armies, a corps of light infantry; which he had long kept up in his army, and kept, not like us in companies attached to regiments, but in one entire body by themselves [d]. He even had the precaution, as they did not consist of men picked out *singly* for the service, but were composed of gross divisions that his eye had distinguished for their alertness and spirit; to order *their* fires, to be kept up in their absence. There would thus be no appearance to any eye, that should be looking down upon the lighted camp from the mountains, of any detachments being drawn out of it [e]. He put *himself* at the head of them. He moved briskly with them into the defile. He passed briskly along it. He actually took post upon the very hill at some distance within it, on which the Seduni had been stationed in the day-

[d] Polybius iii. 50. Τους δ' επιτηδειοτατους ευζωνους ποιησας, and iii. 43. Των σκευκινητοτατων πεξων. Livy xxi. 32. "Cum expeditis, "acerrimo quôque viro," and 36. "Expeditus miles." Mr. Hampton i. 356. "Having selected some of the bravest troops, "and disincumbered them of every thing that might retard "their march" &c.; the translator making this light infantry the production of a moment, and not attending to the existence of light infantry, as a regular corps of soldiers, at the passage of the Rhone, &c. He might well forget now, because he has suppressed before; the *light* infantry of Polybius there, being merely infantry in Mr. Hampton i. 242.

[e] Livy alone tells us this; "pluribus ignibus, quàm pro "numero *manentium*, in speciem factis."

time before [f]. This was the hill, I believe, which lies about one mile within the entrance, and in the very courſe of the defile. The road paſſes generally along the winding ſide of a mountain, that has been cut down with great labour for the admiſſion of the road, has its rocks therefore riſing perpendicular above, and the Drance rolling its waters white with foam below. It has thus grand maſſes of rock on its left, interſected in the hollows, and crowned on the heights, with lines of fir-trees; and the Drance at an increaſing depth, on its right. But, in one place, it *puſhes through the heart of a high hill*, that is detached from the reſt of the mountain, and compoſed of earth, gravel, and blocks of granite [g]. As

[f] Polybius iii. 50. Διηλθε την νυκτα, και καθεσχε τους υπο των πολεμιων προκαταληφθεισας τοπους, αποκεχωρηκοτων των Βαρβαρων, κατα την συνηθειαν, εις την πολιν. Livy xxi. 32. "*Ipſe*—raptim anguſtias evadit, iiſque tumulis quos hoſtes tenuerant conſedit."

[g] Sauſſure iv. 289. "La route, large et bien entretenue, "ſuit en ſerpentant les bords de la Drance, qui roule ſes eaux "blanchiſſantes d'ecume au pied de la montagne—, dont les "rochers tailles à pie forment de grandes maſſes *entrecoupées* "et couronneés par des lignes de ſapins.—Leurs couches— "ſont *coupées* à angles droits par des *fentes*.—Le chemin paſſe "au milieu d'une haute colline, toute compoſée de terre, "de ſable, et de blocs de granit." Bourrit alſo i. 31 marks on this road, "les echappeés charmantes qu'on voit "entre les *coupures* des montagnes." But how is the diſtance of that hill from the entrance, aſcertained? Sauſſure in iv.

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As ſuch a hill, when ſecured by a reſolute party of men, would effectually command an avenue, that runs pent up between its two parts; ſo may it well be diſtinguiſhed by Livy, with the ſignificant appellation of a *citadel*. It is the natural citadel of this important paſs, to the mountaineers within it. It is thus noticed by Livy at one time, in the ſingular number; becauſe the two parts of the hill combine into one, to form the citadel. But it is equally mentioned by Livy in the plural at another; becauſe it conſiſts of two parts, and theſe conſtituted a couple of hills at the time [h]. Now uſed by the Seduni as a citadel for

288 ſpeaks of a hill, "au pied de laquelle paſſe la grande "route à *demi-lieue* de St. Branchier." He afterwards enters a wood, "on entré là dans une belle forêt." He comes out of it and croſſes the Drance; "en ſortant de cette foret, on traverſe "la Drance." Then, "*a demi-lieue de-là*," the road paſſes through the midſt of the hill. If therefore we ſuppoſe the intermediate ſtage, to be like thoſe on each ſide of it, half a league; we ſhall place the hill one league and a half below St. Branchier. But the hill is probably ſtill nearer to the entrance. Immediately after he has noticed the hill, he adds thus: "on "paſſe enſuite dans un hameau nommé LaValette;" and, "*peu* "*au-delà* de ce village, la vallée," the hollow of this road and its accompanying river, "tourne à droite, et entre dans la "grande vallée du Rhone" (iv. 289-290). I therefore place the hill, about a mile within the entrance. On Borgoni's map, the ſuperficial diſtance from the hill of entrance to the top of this hill, is about an Italian mile.

[h] Livy xxi. 33. "Arce," and 32. "iis *tumulis* quos hoſtes "tenuerant."

the firſt time, I ſuppoſe, it occaſioned a counter-citadel to be formed by the Veragri, I believe, on the rock at the Bourg; this rock having no fort upon it in the time of Hannibal, yet having a town around it in the days of Cæſar.

— II. —

HANNIBAL having given this ſingular proof, of the ſuperiority of policy to power in war; he waited for the morning-light, in order to make his advantage of it. When the morning came; at their uſual ſignal, the Seduni began to move from their villages and town towards their poſt [i]. They were to come in one body from their town by the great road, and ſo to paſs under this very hill before they could aſcend up to it. They had nearly reached the foot of the hill, when to their aſtoniſhment they ſuddenly ſee the Carthaginians in poſſeſſion of the ſummit, and appearing almoſt over their heads [k]. They therefore ſtop ſhort in their advance, and draw back from the

[i] Livy xxi. 33. "Montani, ſigno dato, ex caſtellis ad ſta-"tionem ſolitam conveniebant, quum" &c. There is a lively circumſtantiality in Livy here, which is very uſeful.

[k] Polybius iii. 51. Πολιν εξ ης εποιησαντο την ορμην.—Livy xxi. 33. "*Ad ſtationem ſolitam* conveniebant, quum repentè con-"ſpiciunt—, arce occupatâ ſuâ, ſuper caput imminentes—"hoſtes."

hill.

hill [l]. In the mean time, the camp on the plain below broke up, the army there began to march, and entered the defile. The elephants and cavalry formed the vanguard. The laden horses, and the horses in the cars, came in a long train behind; and the main body moved in the rear of all [m]. All were *drawing themselves*, like a serpent in a long and narrow perforation, with great difficulty and at great length through this defile. This presented a new subject of surprize, to the Seduni. They stood motionless at the sight of both, beholding them with a fixed eye and an arrested attention [n]. They soon however observed the

[l] Polybius iii. 51. Οι Βαρβαροι, θεασαμενοι το γεγονος, τας μεν αρχας απεστησαν της επιβολης. This is more natural than Livy's account, who ascribes their stop to the sight of this and of the next object in conjunction.

[m] Livy xxi. 33. "Primâ deinde luce castra mota, et agmen "reliquum incedere cœpit." For the order of movement, see Livy xxi. 34, and the sequel.

[n] Polybius iii. 51. Μετα δε ταυτα, θεωρουντες το των υποζυγιων πληθος, και τους ιππεις, δυσχερως εκμηρυομενους και μακρως τας δυσχωριας, κ. τ. λ. "But having afterwards observed, that the "cavalry, and *the beasts that conveyed the baggage*, being "*crowded and pressed close together by the narrowness of the way*, "advanced *very slowly* forwards, and not without *the greatest* "difficulty" &c. (i. 356). Literally the whole runs thus: "After this, they beheld the multitude of *yoked beasts*, and "the horsemen, with difficulty and in a long train drawing "themselves out of the defile" &c. So little has Mr. Hampton here, either the manner or the matter of Polybius! Livy xxi. 33. "Conspiciunt alios—super caput imminentes, alios

the Carthaginians, advancing with difficulty along this rough and narrow avenue. They marked the hurry of their movements in it. They saw all the army confounded and tumultuous, from its own exertions. They observed the horses in the cars and under the burdens, to be particularly troublesome [o]. They therefore derived new courage from their observations. They thought the addition of terrour, which they should make by an immediate assault upon the whole, would be still sufficient for their destruction [p]. They instantly sallied forth towards them. But precluded from taking the benefit of the road, by Hannibal and his light infantry on the hill; yet accustomed, as mountaineers, to violent exertions in ascending and descending their heights; they ran in wild disorder down their rough rocks, committing themselves headlong to the devious

" viâ transire hostes; utraque *simul* objecta res *oculis animis-* " *que, immobiles paruper eos defixit.*" This last touch is in the usual vivacity, of Livy's strain of writing.

[o] Polybius iii. 51. Το των ΥΠΟΖΥΓΙΩΝ πληθος και του; ΙΠΠΕΙΣ. Livy xxi. 33, couples both sorts of cattle together, thus: " *Equis* maximè consternatis." These two passages combined show the beasts of burden, and the draught-cattle, to be what I have regularly named them in the text, horses, and not mules. The sequel confirms the observation. But Mr. Hampton has no draught-cattle at all.

[p] Polybius iii. 51. Εξικληθησαν υπο τη συμβαινοντος, εξαπλισθαι της πορειας. Livy xxi. 33. " Quicquid adjecissent ipsi terroris, " satis ad perniciem fore rati."

and

and impaſſable precipices of them[q]. They thus went cloſe upon the right, of the party on the hill; and then threw themſelves by the hollows on their left, upon the Carthaginians in the road beyond.

But their efforts were directed, like the efforts of all un-diſciplined armies, in preferring plunder to glory, and in attacking the baggage[r]. They fell upon the long line of this, in ſeveral points at once[s]. A great ſlaughter was made among the Carthaginians. Yet the wretchedneſs of their road was more deſtructive, than the weapons of their enemy. From *that*, they were in great confuſion before; but were now thrown into much greater, by the coming of the mountaineers upon them. Each ſtruggled ſtrongly for himſelf to puſh along the rough and narrow defile, ſtrain

[q] This ſtriking circumſtance we owe entirely to the pencil of Livy, though it is ſo neceſſary to the uniformity of the whole. Livy xxi. 33. "Perverſis rupibus juxta invia ac devia aſſueti "diſcurrunt." The uſe of the firſt word here is ſo ſingular, that it is un-noticed by the lexico-graphers. But "*perverſæ* "rupes," we know from that on which all lexicons are formed, the great principle of analogy, muſt be the ſame in ſignification as "rupes *iniquæ*."

[r] This important circumſtance, ſo ſtrikingly corroborated by the ſequel, we know, and by mere accident only, from Polybius iii. 51. Εκβληθηναι προς τας ωφελειας; "who had all "gone out in *ſearch* of booty" (i. 358).

[s] Polybius iii. 51. Κατα πλειω μερη προσπεσοντων Βαρβαρων.

up to the double hill, and get under the protection of Hannibal and his party there. They had thus a more violent conteſt with one another, than with the mountaineers [t]. But the horſes in the cars, and under the burdens, were particularly troubleſome, and ſuffered in a particular manner [u]. Frightened with the ſavage ſhouts of the ruſhing Seduni, and with the doubling echoes of the woods and vallies around, they were all thrown into an alarm of trepidation [v]. When too they hap-

[t] Polybius iii. 51. Ουχ' ουτως υπο των ανδρων, ως υπο των τοπων, πολυς ηγενετο φθορος των Καρχηδονιων. Livy xxi. 33. "Simul ab "hoſtibus, ſimul ab iniquitate locorum, Pœni oppugnabantur; "pluſque inter ipſos (ſibi quôque tendente [contendente], ut "periculo priùs evaderet) quàm cum hoſtibus, certaminis "erat." Livy here is much more alive than Polybius.

[u] Livy tells us the former circumſtance, and Polybius the latter. Livy xxi. 33. "Equi maximè infeſtum agmen facie- "bant." Polybius iii. 51. Πολυς ηγενετο φθορος των Καρχηδονιων, και μαλιστα των ιππων και των υποζυγιων. "The deſtruction that "enſued was *very* great, eſpecially of the horſes, and *beaſts of* "*burden*," literally the *draught-cattle*, really the *draught-horſes* (i. 356). Theſe paſſages form together an additional evidence, of the draught-cattle and beaſts of burden being *horſes*.

[v] Livy xxi. 33. "Clamoribus diſſonis, quos nemora etiam "repercuſſæque vallies augebant, territi trepidabant." This lively circumſtance we know from Livy only; while the "ne- "mora" and the "valles" correſpond very exactly, with the "une belle *forêt* melangée de meleſes, de pins, et de bou- "leaux" on the hills above, the "une *forêt* qui couvre le "pied" of all the hills below, the rocks "*coupées* à angles "droits

happened to be wounded, or even ſtruck, with the weapons of the enemy; they were ſeized with ſuch a conſternation, that they beat down their cars, their burdens, their drivers, and themſelves, in vaſt diſorder and deſtruction to the ground [w]. Nor was the paſs merely narrow and rough. It had ſtill greater diſadvantages; being precipicious to the Drance on the right, and very deeply ſo. Every movement therefore, every diſturbance, flung many of the horſes with their burdens and their cars, down the rocky declivities to the river at a very great depth below [x]. Even when they did

"droits par des *fentes*," and "la *vallée*" of the Drance running all along with the road, in Sauſſure iv. 288-290; and with "les montagnes *boïſées*," and "les *coupures* des montagnes," in Bourrit i. 31. With ſo minute a conformity, do the hiſtory and the ſcene agree!

[w] This is particularly known from Livy only, xxi. 33. "Equi,—icti fortè aut vulnerati, adeo conſternabantur, ut "ſtragem ingentem ſimul hominum ac ſarcinarum omnis ge-"neris fierent."

[x] Polybius iii. 51. Ουσης γαρ ει μονον στενης και τραχειας της προσβολης, αλλα και κρημνωδους, απο παντος κινηματος και πασης ταραχης εφερετο κατα των κρημνων, ομως συν τοις φορτιοις πολλα των υποζυγιων και αχθοφορων. "For as the *way*," the aſcent, "was not only "*very* rough and narrow, but was bounded alſo on *every* ſide "by ſteep and craggy rocks," as if a road *could* have more than *two* ſides, and as if *one* would not make a road what Polybius literally deſcribes this to be, *precipicious*; "the beaſts "that were loaded with the baggage," the tranſlation thus confounding what the original has diſtinguiſhed, the draught-cattle

did not precipitate themſelves down the declivities, they actually occaſioned more confuſion in the

cattle and the beaſts of burden, and not *all* of them, as the tranſlation intimates, but *many* of them, as the original expreſſes; "were *overturned* by every *ſhock*, and hurried "headlong with their burdens down the precipices," literally, at every movement and every diſturbance were borne down the precipices with their burthens. Livy xxi. 33. "Multos— "turba, quum præcipites deruptæque utrinque anguſtiæ eſſent, "in immenſum altitudinis dejecit." Polybius here, to our ſurprize, is more explicit than Livy; though Livy has added the *depth*, to the precipices of Polybius and himſelf. But Livy has alſo made a conſiderable miſtake here. He deſcribes the road as precipicious upon *both* ſides, "utrinque;" and from him probably it is, that Mr. Hampton deſcribes it with a kind of Hiberniſm, as on *every* ſide precipicious. Livy and his overdoing copier thus form ſuch a ſtrange road of aſcent up a mountain, as the world (I believe) never ſaw yet. Nor was this ſuch a one. Polybius accordingly deſcribes it in *his own* language, as "not only narrow and rough," ε μονον στενης και τραχειας "but alſo precipicious," αλλα και κρημνωδες. Had it been precipicious on *both* ſides, he muſt have added the circumſtance, as greatly enhancing the wretchedneſs of it, and throwing in an addition of terrour to the deſcription. An aſcent up a hill indeed cannot but be formed, either directly up the ſteep or windingly along the ſide of the hill; and will have either the high ſides of its own hollow on each hand, or the hill for a wall upon one hand while it has a deep precipice on the other. The preſent road therefore, we may be ſure, was made in the former manner or the latter; and, as it was *precipicious*, muſt have been certainly made in the latter.

Accordingly we find, that the road which I take as the repreſentative of Hannibal's, anſwers this account exactly. Bourrit tells us, that "la route—eſt dans un gorge, *occupée en partie* "*par*

the line of march, than when they did. The burden-horſes, which moved immediately after the cavalry and juſt before the proviſion-cars, as they felt the ſmart of their wounds, either ran wildly back upon the ſtring of cars behind them, and flung the whole into great confuſion; or elſe puſhed furiouſly forward upon the cavalry before, and carried an equal confuſion among *them*[y]. They even annoyed both ſo much, as to

"*par la Drance*," and "*les rochers—bordent le chemin*" (i. 31). And Sauſſure informs us, that in coming down the hills, and on entering the fine wood of larches, pines, and birch-trees, "la route—*fuit* en ſerpentant *les bords de la Drance*, qui roule "ſes eaux blanchiſſantes d'ecume *au pied de la montagne*, dont "*les rochers*" &c.; that, upon leaving the wood, "on traverſe "la Drance, et on paſſe *au pied de ces rochers*;" that afterwards the road paſſes through the *middle* of a *high hill*, and then goes through a village which has *a mountain above it*, "la montagne "ſituée au-deſſus du village" (iv. 288-290).

[y] Polybius iii. 51. Μαλιστα την τοιαυτην ταραχην εποιουν οι τραυματιζομενοι των ιππων· τουτων γαρ οι μεν, αυτοι συμπιπτοντες, not on the αχθοφορους or beaſts of burden, as being theſe themſelves, but τοις υποζυγιοις, οποτε διαπτοηθειεν εκ της πληγης· οι δε, καθα την εις τουμπροσθεν ορμην εξωθουντες παν το συμπαραπιπτον εν ταις δυσχωριαις, μεγαλην απειργαζοντο ταραχην. "This diſorder was occaſioned chiefly "by the horſes, that were wounded. For theſe, *being rendered* "*ſenſeleſs and ungovernable*," Mr. Hampton's own interpolation! "not only *fell*," ran, "againſt *the beaſts of burden*," the draught-cattle, "that were *near* them," behind them, "[when "they received a wound]; but *forcing their way* alſo *through* "*the ranks* as they [theſe] were labouring to advance," literally thus, running againſt the corps [of cavalry] that was ſtraining up the defile before them, "filled every thing with tumult, "and bore down all that was within their reach" (i. 357).

beat

beat ſome of the cavalry with their riders, and many of the cars with their loads, down the precipices. Thus was the principal attack made, and the principal loſs ſuſtained, upon and by theſe beaſts of burden; which drove themſelves, drove thoſe behind, and drove thoſe before, in united ruin over the cliffs [z].

Hannibal beheld all this with pain, but was afraid to move. His fear, however, was the fear of a Hannibal and of Prudence. He was apprehenſive of increaſing the diſorder, and of augmenting the deſtruction, among his own people in the defile [a]. Yet he was compelled to move at laſt. He ſaw, that the mountaineers had actually broke in upon his line. They were carrying off, he obſerved, the beaſts of burden and even the beaſts of draught in numbers, by the hollows [b]. He

[z] Livy xxi. 33. "Turba—dejecit—quoſdam et *armatos*; Polybius iii. 51. μαλιστα; and Livy xxi. 33. "Ruinæ *maximæ* "modo, *jumenta cum oneribus* devolvebantur."

[a] Livy xxi. 33. "Quanquam foeda viſu erant, ſtetit pa- "rumper tamen Hannibal, ac ſuos continuit, ne tumultum ac "trepidationem augeret."

[b] Bourrit i. 31, deſcribing this road as it goes from the vale up the mountain, notices theſe objects in ſucceſſion as they preſent themſelves to the eye; "les montagnes boïſées," the wood on the foot of the mountains, "les rochers qui bordent "le *chemin*" at firſt, "ou la riviere" afterwards, when the road deſerts the immediate bank of the river, to puſh through the

He was thus losing his tents, losing his provisions; and if he lost them, he knew, he should conduct his army through the pass in vain. Without tents, how shall his army encamp by night upon the Alps? Without provisions, how shall his men march along them by day[c]? He therefore came down in haste from his hill. He attacked the enemy, who were in force upon the heights, and within the hollows, along the road. He thus did, as he had foreseen he should, increase the confusion and mischief among his own people. The light infantry under him shouted, and charged the enemy. The Seduni returned the shout and the charge[d]. All heightened the disorder in the defile, and much additional mis-

the heart of the insulated hill, "*les échappées charmantes qu'on* "*voit entre les coupures des montagnes,*" the fine but glancing views which we have between the hollows of the mountains. These very narrow hollows therefore come so near to the level of the road, as to give the eye of a traveller passing up the road, a full view, though a glancing one, of the country through them. These hollows are the mere gullies of torrents, I presume, formed by the sweeping rains, venting these into the road and the river, and gradually worne down by their attrition into a near level with the former.

[c] Livy xxi. 33. "Postquam *interrumpi agmen* vidit, periculumque esse ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequicquam "incolumem traduxisset" &c. Polybius iii. 51. Συλλογιζομενος, ως ουδε τοις διαφυγουσι τον κινδυνον ετι σωτηρια, του σκευοφορικου διαφθαρεντος κ. τ. λ. and afterwards πληθος των υποζυγιων και ιππων.

[d] Polybius iii. 51. Εξαμφοιν and δια την των προειρημενων κραυγην και συμπλοκην.

chief,

chief was done in it [e]. Yet all was ſoon over. The light infantry had a great advantage from the ground, the natural declivity of the mountain adding much to the weight and force of their charge; and the Seduni were inſtantly routed [f]. The greateſt part of them were killed upon the ſpot. The reſt, unable to recover their adjoining town, becauſe Hannibal was now betwixt it and them, took refuge in the villages near [g]. Then

[e] Polybius is weak enough, to repreſent the loſs of the Carthaginians upon this occaſion, as *equal* to that of the Seduni; iii. 51. Ουκ ελαττους δε και των ιδιων. This is ſaid by him, in contradiction to what he ſays both before and after. In the words immediately preceding he tells us, Πολλοι μεν των πολεμιων απωλοντο δια το ποιεισθαι την εφοδον—των Αννιβαν, ουκ ελαττους δε και των ιδιων, ο γαρ καλα την πορειαν θορυβος κ. τ. λ.; and adds, that *moſt* of the enemy were killed, τους μεν πλειστους—απεκλεινε. Theſe paſſages, compared together, prove their own contradictorineſs very plainly; unleſs we will believe, that *moſt* of the *Carthaginians* were killed. Even as reſtrained by the Ο ΓΑΡ καλα την πορειαν θορυβος to the *road*, the aſſertion is ſtill wild in itſelf and contradictory to the reſt of the narration. For *moſt* of the *Carthaginians* certainly were not killed, even though we take all upon the road into our account. The whole however ſhows us, that the Carthaginians ſuffered much damage upon the road, from the confuſion occaſioned by Hannibal's advance upon the Seduni. But I cannot conclude this note, ſo truly derogatory to Polybius, without remarking that Polybius here is much more circumſtantial and uſeful than Livy; the latter only ſaying, "Suis quoque tumultum auxit."

[f] Livy xxi. 33. "*Impetu ipſo* fudiſſet hoſtem." Polybius iii. 51. Δια το ποιεισθαι την εφοδον εξ υπερδεξιων τον Αννιβαν.

[g] Polybius, iii. 51. Επει δε τους μεν πλειστους—απεκλεινε, τους δε λοιπους, τρεψαμενος, παρεκαστε φυγειν εις την οικειαν. See the ſequel.

the

the remaining train of cavalry, burden-horses, and provision-cars, passed along the defile; still indeed with great trouble and difficulty, but in perfect peace, and, such a change was there within the short compass of a moment, almost in perfect silence too [h].

— III. —

Having struck this blow, Hannibal determined to improve it. He therefore united the cavalry in the defile, to the light infantry with him [i]. At the head of both, he pushed up the defile to the

[h] Polybius iii. 51. Τότε δη το μεν ἐτι περιλειπομενον πληθος των υποζυγιων και των ιππων, μολις και ταλαιπωρως διηνυσε τας δυσχωριας. "Annibal then conducted through the passes, though not "without *the greatest* pains and difficulty, what remained of "the *cavalry* and *beasts of burthen*" (i. 357). Let Polybius speak ever so repeatedly concerning his υποζυγια, Mr. Hampton will not listen to him. Though the word proclaims so loudly to every Græcian ear, of carriages being used and of cattle drawing them in yokes; he will still consider them as pack-horses, and still denominate them beasts of burden. He thus makes the υποζυγια to be the same with the αχθοφοροι, and so annihilates the υποζυγια entirely. Livy xxi. 33. "Is tumultus "*momento temporis*, postquam liberata itinera fugâ montanorum "erant, sedatur; nec per otium modò, sed propè silentio, "mox omnes traducti."

[i] Polybius iii. 51. Αυτος δε συναθροισας οσους ηδυνατο πλειστους εκ του κινδυνου. These could be only the cavalry, as they alone preceded the cars and burden-horses, and as the infantry followed it.

adjoining

adjoining town of the mountaineers. This was, no doubt, the present SAINT-BRANCHIER, a town of no inconsiderable size, that is situated in a hollow on the very top of this long and sloping mountain of entrance, and at the head of the whole defile through it; and has a post-house in it at present, for providing passengers with horses to carry them up to the summit of the Alps [k]. But he found the town deserted by almost all its inhabitants; nearly all having come out to the attack before [l]. Numbers of them had perished in the attack; those who escaped had fled; and Hannibal took it without any opposition [m]. It was then THE CAPITAL of the Seduni; having several smaller towns, subordinate to it, and at no great distance from it. So well peopled was this lower region of the Alps, as to have several towns upon it, one the metropolis of a kingdom, and a whole nation for its inhabitants! Accordingly we see the Carthaginians before, in their survey of the Alps from the valley below, marking "the "ill-shapen *houses* that were pitched upon the "rocks [n]." When Cæsar's soldiery entered the

[k] Bourrit i. 28 and 31. Simler says 81, "vicus hujus loci "[Branscheria] a D. Mauritii templo, et valle, nomen habet."

[l] Polybius iii. 51. Προσεβαλε προς την πολιν, εξ ης εποιησαντο την ορμην οι πολεμιοι· καταλαβων δε σκεδον ερημον, δια το παντας εκβληθηναι προς τας ωφελειας.

[m] Polybius iii. 51. Εγκρατης εγενετο της πολεως.

[n] Livy xxi. 32. "Tecta informia imposita rupibus."

Alps afterward by this very pafs, we find they "gained fome victories over the Seduni, and "ftormed *feveral* of their *Caftles* [o]." In the very fame language, and in this very hiftory of Hannibal, Livy fays the Seduni went away at night to their own *houfes*, and in the morning returned from their *Caftles* to their poft [p]. In another place alfo he denominates that a *Caftle*, which Polybius calls a *City*, which he himfelf characterizes as "the Capital of the region;" and denominates the fubordinate towns, at one time *Caftles*, at another *Villages*. In a barbarous and Alpine ftate of nature, every town is a caftle, and every village a fort. Among thefe villages had the furviving multitude of the capital difperfed themfelves, on their flight from the battle. Hannibal therefore fent out detachments, to take poffeffion of them. They did fo; and he thus made a confiderable addition to his two blows before [q]. He derived alfo great advantages from all, for the prefent

[o] Cæfar, p. 86. "Caftelliſque compluribus eorum expug-"natis."

[p] Livy xxi. 32. "Nocte in fua quemque dilabi tecta," and 33, "Ex caftellis ad ftationem folitam conveniebant."

[q] Livy xxi. 33. "Caftellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis "erat, viculofque circumjectos, capit." We fee the fame word *caftella* ufed in the fame manner for *towns*, and *Alpine* towns, in thofe lines of Virgil:

Tum fciat, aerias Alpes et Norica fi quis
Caftella in tumulis, et Tapidis arva Timavi, &c.
Georg. iii.

and for the future[r]. He immediately recovered a large train of burden-horſes, of draught-horſes, and of the drivers of both, that had been carried off by the Seduni[s]. He alſo found ſuch a quantity of corn, and ſeized ſuch a number of cattle; as amply ſupplied all his army with proviſions, for three days following[t]. So rich in *cattle* and in *corn*, were theſe reputedly barren ſides of the mountains; as to furniſh proviſions from a few of their towns, and from a ſmall tract adjoining them, ſufficient for the whole army of the Carthaginians during three days! So high alſo had the cultivation of *corn* then aſcended, up theſe ſeemingly bleak acclivities of the Alps! It has now, of courſe, aſcended ſtill higher[u]. But, even as early

[r] Polybius iii. 51. Εκ δε τουτου πολλα συνεβη των χρησιμων αυτω, προς τε το παρον και προς το μελλον.

[s] Polybius iii. 51. Παραυτικα μεν γαρ εκομισαλο πληθος ιππων και υποζυγιων, και των αμα εαλωκοτων ανδρων. Polybius is very uſefully circumſtantial here. "Beſides the horſes and *beaſts of* "*burthen*, and *priſoners which he gained*" (i. 358). Mr. Hampton did not underſtand the paſſage. Literally, it runs thus: "he immediately *recovered* a *multitude* of horſes, and "*draught-cattle*, and *men that had been taken with them*." Both the body and ſoul of Polybius are here vaniſhed!

[t] Polybius iii. 51. Εις δε το μελλον, εσχε μεν και σιτα και θρεμματων, επι δυοιν και τρισιν ημεραις, ευπορειαν. Livy xxi. 33. "Captivorum "*pecoribus* per triduum exercitum aluit." Livy forgets the *corn*.

[u] Bourrit iii. 286, and i. 33. Half a league above the double hill, and in coming *down* the Alps, "on trouve là les "*premieres vignes*" (Sauſſure iv. 289). From that point to the

early as the days of Tiberius, the inhabitants of theſe very mountains are expreſsly ſaid by Strabo, to be then doing what we ſee they were *doing in* the days of Hannibal before, "cultivating the "vallies within the Alps[v]." Yet, what was more important than all, Hannibal ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the whole nation of the Seduni, by the defeat of their forces at the defile, by the reduction of their capital, and by the ſeizure of their other towns; that he met with no more oppoſition from them[w].

While he was thus marching to the Capital, and taking poſſeſſion of it; his baggage, his cavalry, and his main body, were paſſing along the defile, now no longer dangerous, but ſtill troubleſome. When they had all paſſed it, and ſo had gained the ſummit of the hill with him;

the great valley, "on voit des *vignes* ſous des rochers eboulés" (Bourrit i. 29). In the great valley itſelf, "c'eſt une opinion "reçue dans le pays, que ces maîtres du monde," the Romans, "plantêrent les vignes de *la Marque* et de *Coquempin*, qui ont "beaucoup de reputation" (i. 28).

[v] Strabo, iv. 283. Γεωργουσι—τας αυλωνας τας εν ταις Αλπεσι.

[w] Polybius iii. 51. Το δε συνιχον, φοβον ειργασατο τοις εξης. "By this conqueſt alſo, the people that lived along the ſides "of the mountains were ſtruck with terror" (i. 358). Polybius ſays το δε συνιχον, as *ſumming up* the advantages; but Mr. Hampton ſays only "alſo." He thus neglects all attention to his author's manner; and the mode of tranſition becomes, not Polybius's, but Mr. Hampton's.

he encamped them and his whole army at the town, for the reſt of the day. Theſe ſucceſſive actions had taken up probably the greater part of the day, already. A continued aſcent of *ſix* miles up the narrow and rocky road of a ſteep mountain, muſt certainly have been the full work of a day, to the horſes in the cars and under the burdens. Hannibal therefore encamped immediately[x]; now happy to have forced his way into the boſom of the Alps, now triumphing in thought at this commencement of his ſucceſſes over theſe mighty mounds of Italy, and now anticipating his rapid, reſiſtleſs deſcent in a few days, upon the plains of Rome on the other ſide. But he found himſelf compelled, to reſtrain his ardour for the preſent. The neceſſities of his ſituation were too powerful, to admit a renewal of his march the next morning. He was obliged to halt at the town, for the whole of the next day[y]. The train of baggage was thrown into ſuch confuſion, and had ſuſtained ſuch injury, as made this interval of reſt abſolutely neceſſary, for rectifying entirely the one, and for repairing in any meaſure the other. The packages of the burden-horſes, the ladings of the cars, and many perhaps of the cars themſelves, that had fallen down the precipice, would be recovered by the delay.

[x] Polybius iii. 52. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἵπποις ποιησάμενος τὴν παρεμβολήν.

[y] Polybius iii. 52. Καὶ μίαν ἐπιμείνας ἡμέραν, αὐθις ἦρε.

The

The cattle alſo, that had avoided the fall, would be too much exhauſted by their wild agitations and violent exertions, not to want the repoſe of a day for their reſtoration. Even on the third day, he put his army very late in motion again, and made only a very ſhort march [z]. He had, as is plain from the ſequel, ſeveral of his beaſts of burden, ſeveral of his cattle for the cars, and their reſpective drivers; infirm from the bruiſes received at the precipice before, and diſabled from marching forward immediately. The hope of their inſtant recovery would naturally induce him, to defer his march as long as ever he could. But his ſoul was too much on fire, to be detained in its movements long, even by ſuch impediments. He ſet out, in oppoſition to all; even leaving many of them behind him, and expoſing the men to the cruelty of theſe beaten and plundered mountaineers, rather than be delayed any longer by them [a]. The ſoul, while it is embodied, muſt move according to the laws of matter, and not the principles of ſpirit; yet will prove its own ſpirituality, by the very energy which it will lend to matter.

At St. Branchier, the road up the Alps turns to the right, and aſcends a hill. It then runs along

[z] Livy xxi. 33. "*Aliquantum—viæ* confecit."

[a] See vol. ii. chap. i. ſect. 4.

a valley, that is watered by the weſtern arm of the Drance on the left. Along this arm and this valley Hannibal now marched on the third day, I apprehend, and advanced only a little way from St. Branchier. In *three* miles the road croſſes the Drance[b]. Here therefore I believe Hannibal to have ſtopt, at the concluſion of the third day[c]. Three miles comport ſufficiently with the language of Livy, who alone is accurate enough to intimate the ſhortneſs of this day's march; and who thus intimates it. "As the Carthaginians," he ſays, "were "not greatly incommoded, either by the moun- "taineers already beaten, or by the road; Han- "nibal made *ſome* progreſs in thoſe three days[d]." — By his reference to the *beaten* mountaineers, he reſtricts the progreſs to the *third* day; but, by his expreſs mention of *three* days, he extends it equally over the *firſt*. By both, he contracts the progreſs

[b] Sauſſure iv. 286. "A St. Branchier une grande lieue."

[c] Livy xxi. 33, ſays, that the day Hannibal enters the defile "caſtellum—capit, et captivorum pecoribus per *triduum* exer- "citum aluit, et—aliquantum *eo triduo* viæ confecit." Hannibal's men fed upon the cattle the day on which they took them, and two days afterward. Livy thus reckons the day of entering the defile, and the day of re-marching, as equally parts of the *triduum* or three days. And he thus coincides exactly with Polybius, who makes Hannibal to halt *one* day *before* his re-marching and *after* his entering.

[d] Livy xxi. 33. "Quia nec montanis primò perculſis, nec "loco, magnoperè impediebantur; aliquantum eo triduo viæ "confecit."

of

of the third day, into a ſhort, a very ſhort compaſs. The nature of our road, too, coincides exactly with his deſcription of Hannibal's. "The "Carthaginians," he remarks, "were not greatly "incommoded by the road." It did incommode them a little, but not greatly. It incommoded them at the commencement, but not afterwards. In going out of St. Branchier towards the top of the Alps, ſays one traveller, "there is an aſcent "a little ſtiff and ſteep, upon a road paved and "ſlippery, where it is prudent to light from your "horſe[e]." But afterwards, adds a ſecond traveller, "the road is on a level, and the valley "preſents a thouſand beauties of the paſtoral "kind[f]." Or, as the firſt traveller ſubjoins to his account of the aſcent, "all the reſt is very "fine; the road runs raiſed above the ſides of "the Drance, which ſerpentizes in a canal, bor-"dered with clumps of trees and ranges of fair "meadows[g]." So completely does this road correſpond, with the way that Hannibal marched;

[e] Sauſſure iv. 286. "Une pente un peu roide," 287. "ſur un chemin pavé et gliſſant, où il eſt prudent de mettre "pied à terre."

[f] Bourrit iii. 286. "Le chemin eſt en plaine, et la vallée "preſente mille beautés, dans le genre paſtoral."

[g] Sauſſure iv. 286. "Mais tout le reſte eſt tres-beau; le "chemin eſt elevé au-deſſus des bords de la Drance, qui ſer-"pente dans un canal bordé de bouquets d'arbres et de jolies "prairies."

both in what Livy hints of the roughneſs, and in what Livy ſpeaks of the ſmoothneſs!

— IV. —

But here, I apprehend, the river formed the bounding line of the Seduni. So many miles had they extended their habitations, up this northern ſide of the Alps! Nor was the country even yet deſolate. He only came to a new nation of mountaineers. So great was the population of the Alps, at this period! In the days of Cæſar indeed, as we have ſeen before, the Seduni "reached to the *ſummits* of the Alps[h]." But, in the days of Hannibal, they certainly did not. This the current of our preſent hiſtory very clearly ſhows. "Hannibal then came," ſays Livy expreſsly, "to ANOTHER people, for mountaineers "abounding in numbers[i]." Theſe were aſſuredly the SALASSI; who are ſpecified together with the Seduni, the Veragri, and the Nantuates, as equally an Alpine nation with all, and as equally with all reduced by Auguſtus, in that inſcription by which Auguſtus has recorded his own conqueſt

[h] Bell. Gall. iiii. 1. "Ad ſummas Alpes pertinent."

[i] Livy xxi. 34. "Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus "alium, ut inter montana, populum." Livy is moſt luminouſly particular here, while Polybius wraps up all in a dull generality of narration.

over

over them [k]. The Salaſſi are accordingly deſcribed by Strabo, with great ſimilarity to Livy's nation; as poſſeſſing a region "ample in itſelf, "and reaching up to the very ſummits of the "Alps [l]." Livy thus notices the numerouſneſs of the nation, and Strabo dwells on the extent of the region, but both denote the powerfulneſs of the people. Conformably with both, we know the Salaſſi to have even lived along the ſouthern ſide of the Alps, and to have had ſome diſtinguiſhed towns at the foot of them there [m]. They extended therefore from this point of the northern aſcent, up to the ſummit; and ſpread along the whole of the ſouthern deſcent, from the top to the bottom. So completely do the Alps appear to have been peopled from ſide to ſide, in this particular line acroſs them! Nor does Hannibal meet with any *third* nation, in all the courſe of his march up and down the mountains. But as Cæſar carries the Seduni on the north, up "to the "ſummits of the Alps;" and as Strabo equally carries the Salaſſi from the ſouth, up "to the very "ſummits of the Alps;" the two nations muſt have *then* bordered upon each other on the crown and creſt of the mountains, though *now* they bordered ſo low on the north as the Weſtern Drance.

[k] Pliny iii. 20. "Nantuates, Seduni, Veragri, *Salaſſi*."

[l] Strabo iv. 314. Η δε των Σαλασσων πολλη μεν εστιν—μερος δε τι αυλων αναλεινει και προς τας υπερκειμενας κορυφας.

[m] See vol. ii. chap. ii. ſect. 6, 7, 8.

This

This new nation had learned the fate of their neighbours the Seduni, by that communication of intelligence, which hence appears to have been readily carried on along theſe mountains, and is an additional evidence of the cloſeneſs of population among them. Some of the Seduni undoubtedly, the women and the children, had fled from St. Branchier on the approach of Hannibal, had taken their flight to this paſſage over the Drance, and carried to the Salaſſi the mournful news, of the defeat of their own army and of the loſs of their own capital. Alarmed at this ſucceſs, catching the infectious terrour of its reporters, and obliged to act upon the impulſe of their preſent feelings, while the main body of their nation lay too remote, to lend them any aſſiſtance in time; they determined on the march of Hannibal towards their country, to receive him in a very different manner from the Seduni. They had ſome *towns*, and ſome of their *more conſiderable* towns too, upon the line of his intended march [n]. So thick ſet with towns does this ſuppoſed wilderneſs of the Alps appear, at preſent!

[n] Livy xxi. 34. "Caſtellorum." We have ſeen Livy before denominating, what Polybius calls a Πολις, and he himſelf "Caput ejus regionis," a "Caſtellum;" and calling the ſubordinate towns "Viculi circumjecti." Polybius iii. 52. Οι—περι την διοδον οικουντες, "the inhabitants of *thoſe parts of the mountains*" (i. 358).

Their towns, from their promiſcuous appellations of Caſtles and of Cities, muſt have been ſuch as many of our own were originally, ranges of houſes under the protection of a fort; and the commandant of the fort have been the governour of the town. Several of theſe governours convened together, and came forward to meet Hannibal in a peaceful manner[o]. They met him aſſuredly on the banks of their limitary ſtream, the Drance[p]. They came probably from ORZIERES, a town upon the road, and immediately on the other ſide of the current[q]; from LIDDE, a large village

[o] Livy xxi. 34. "Magno natu principes caſtellorum."

[p] Polybius iii. 52. Συννέων αὐτῷ.

[q] "On paſſe à Orſiere," ſays Sauſſure iv. 284, as he is coming *down* the Alps to Orzieres and St. Branchier, "grand "village ſitué dans un fond, au bord de la Drance; et, *apres* "en etre *ſorti*, on paſſe *à la rive gauche* de ce torrent, dont on "avoit toujours ſuivi la rive *droite* depuis le Bourg de St. "Pierre." This ſettles the poſition of Orzieres and St. Branchier at once, and ſhows the miſtakes of the maps. Orzieres is apparently on the *ſouthern* ſide of this current, and the current is croſſed by the road between it and St. Branchier: while the very map in Sauſſure's third volume places them both on the ſame, the ſouthern, ſide; the map in his Firſt volume alſo does the ſame; Borgoni's map by Dury does the ſame again; and Mr. Coxe's, in his Firſt volume, does the ſame once more. In that great variety of maps relative to this region, which is in the King's Library at the Queen's Houſe; and which Mr. Barnard the Librarian, with a politeneſs and a cordiality (to ſpeak very ſtrongly) truly worthy of his Royal Maſter, enabled my much-eſteemed friend George Chalmers, Eſq. to examine for me;

village in a fine ſituation, directly on the road beyond it, and about four miles beyond ORZIERES[r]; and from SAINT-PETER'S, another town on the road beyond both, but about three miles from Lidde[s]. They appeared before Hannibal, bearing branches of trees in their hands, and carrying garlands of boughs on their heads, as tokens of peace and ſignals of amity to him[t].

That

me; ſome maps place Orzieres upon one ſide, and ſome upon the other. Bourrit's in his Firſt volume is indeed the only map, which I have ſeen myſelf to accord with the narrative of Sauſſure, that certain ſtandard of the reality.

[r] Simler 81-82, Bourrit iii. 286, Map prefixed, Map in Sketch, and Sauſſure iv. 281-284.

[s] Sauſſure iv. 281 and 283 &c. and Map prefixed to Vol. IIId, a very uſeful, becauſe a very circumſtantial, map.

[t] Livy xxi. 34. "Magno natu principes caſtellorum, ora-"tores, ad Poenum veniunt;" Polybius iii. 52, θαλλες εχοντες και στεφανους, not of *olive*, as Caſaubon has ſtrangely rendered the words in his Latin tranſlation, "virentis *olivæ* ramis et co-"ronis." The olive was little known in any part of Italy itſelf, at the time. "Oleam Theophraſtus—urbis Romæ anno "circiter quadringenteſimo quadrageſimo," about a hundred years before Hannibal's expedition, "*negavit niſi intra* XL *mil-*"*lium paſſuum a mari naſci.*—Urbis quidem anno quingente-"ſimo quinto, *olei libræ duodenis aſſibus venière*; et mox anno "ſexenteſimo octogeſimo," near a century and a half after Hannibal's march over the Alps, "M. Seius L. F. Ædilis Cu-"rulis olei *denas* libras *ſingulis aſſibus* præſtitit populo Romano, "per totum annum. Minùs ea miretur qui ſciat, *poſt annos* "XXII—*oleum provinciis Italiam miſiſſe.*" But the olive itſelf

"NUNC

That Man was originally deſigned to live in a garden, and to find the gentle pleaſures of a garden,

"NUNC pervenit trans ALPES quoque, et in *Gallias* Hiſpaniaſque medias" (Pliny xv. 1). The olive muſt therefore have been particularly unknown upon the Alps, in the days of Hannibal; and was only planted there by the haſty hand of Caſaubon, not attending to the hiſtory of the migration of trees, and either prompted by the ſuggeſtions of a common-placed idea concerning the olive, or led away by a more ſcholar-like temptation, the occaſional, derivative, and referential uſe of the word ϑαλλος among the reſidents of Greece.

Yet, to my aſtoniſhment, I find a prelate, whom I have been long in the habit of reſpecting as a ſound ſcholar, whatever I may think or ſuſpect of him as a Divine, proving himſelf moſt heretically erroneous in an alluſion to this paſſage. In his Diſcourſe to the Clergy, Biſhop Watſon ſpeaks of "the *olive* branch "being a ſignal of peace, not only amongſt Greeks and Romans, but likewiſe amongſt *the Alpine nations*, who *met* "*Hannibal on his paſſage*" (ſee his Sermons and Tracts, 1788, p. 214). The prelate, it ſeems, reads Polybius, not with his own eyes, but with the eyes of Caſaubon. He examines only *one* column in the page of Polybius. He honours the *Latin* to the rejection of the *Greek*. If it is *thus* he reads the Fathers and the Scriptures, he *may* be all that the ſharpeſt ſuſpiciouſneſs of orthodoxy has ſurmiſed him to be, all that is moſt unworthy of a ſcholar, and all that is moſt indecent in a biſhop.

When ſuch virtue is ſeduced by the vamped face of a tranſlation, we cannot wonder at the ſeduction of common virtue, in the hiſtorian of Ant. Un. Hiſt. xii. 239. But M. de St. Simon, equally with the hiſtorian and the prelate, contemplates Polybius diſtorted in the falſifying mirrour of Caſaubon's verſion. He ſpeaks equally of the *olive* branch in Polybius; and, to carry the miſtake into the wildeſt abſurdity, he *aſcertains* the courſe of Hannibal from the falſe fact. Barcelonette below Embrun, he

den, the happineſs of an earthly Paradiſe to him; we know from the primary poſition of man, in that

he notes, " eſt la ſeule ville de l'autre coté de la Durance; *où* " *l'on puiſſe trouver des oliviers*; il n'en croit aucun dans toutes " les Alpes Pennines, Grecques, ou Cottiennes—; il n'en " vient qu'autour de la ville de Barcelonette, où le pays, comme " le diſent Polybe et Tite-Live, eſt plus cultivé et plus " ouvert;" the author thus confounding in the *chaos* of his ideas, the region ſome miles up the Alps upon one ſide, and the country at the foot of the Alps on the other; ſo rivalling the very confuſedneſs, of his antagoniſt Folard himſelf (p. xxiii). " Cette circonſtance" of the *olive* branches, he tells us in the page immediately preceding, " *repand une grande lumiere ſur la* " *route d'Annibal,* et *confirme bien que ce Heros paſſa par Barce-* " *lonette*" (p. xxii). Through the thick atmoſphere that hangs over all this author's reaſoning, no ſun could penetrate to diſpenſe its illumination, and a mock-ſun would not be even dimly ſeen through the haze. But to take my final leave of an author highly reſpectable in himſelf, with more politeneſs and good-humour; I will conclude with an anecdote, that is yet new (I believe) to the publick. The Royal Society is ſaid to have once debated before Charles the IId, *why* a fiſh did not weigh in water. After many hypotheſes advanced to account for the extraordinary circumſtance, much learning diſplayed, and much reaſoning exerted; the King, whoſe mind's eye was not confined by the mufflers of erudition, very pertinently aſked if the ſuppoſed fact was true. A ſtare of amazement at the bold ſuggeſtion, we may ſuppoſe, ſucceeded the queſtion. But, in deference to Majeſty, even Erudition condeſcended to examine. Water and a Fiſh were introduced, and the ſuppoſed fact *was found to be abſolutely falſe*.

So ridiculous does Learning make itſelf, at times. But it is then moſt ridiculous, when it ſtruts peculiarly in the laced clothes

that only hiſtory of our race for the firſt two thouſand years of its exiſtence, which GOD dictated to Moſes. From this original deſtination of Man, we ſtill delight in rural ſcenes and rural images, and ſome of our pureſt pleaſures are derived from the enjoyment of a garden. It is thus that a branch of a tree in the hand, and a garland of boughs on the head, are pointed out by nature, and have been conſidered by all ages, as ſignificant ſymbols of peace and feſtivity in the bearers. They were the inſtituted ſymbols of amity at the period of Hannibal's expedition, among almoſt all the nations of the world [u]. We have even found them in thoſe excurſive ranges of the Genius of Navigation, which do ſo much honour to the preſent reign of our own Sovereign, and the preſent generation of our own countrymen; uſed among the iſlands that have lain ſo long ſequeſtered from the reſt of the world, amid the wild waſte of the Southern Ocean. And it is only from this univerſal idea of the peace, the feſtivity ſignified by exhibiting a branch of a tree; that the Orientals in general, and the Greeks in particular, at laſt ſelected the olive from all other

clothes of erudition, yet ſhows by a Monmouth-ſtreet ticket upon the back, that it has purchaſed them out of a frippery-ſhop there.

[u] Polybius iii. 50. Τοῦτο γὰρ σχεδὸν πᾶσι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐστὶ σύνθημα φιλίας; "the ſignal of peace among [almoſt all] the barbarous nations" (i. 358).

trees

trees for this ſignification, becauſe the olive carried with it an additional import of peace, from the actual uſe of oil in feſtivity.

Hannibal ſaw the ſymbols, and underſtood their meaning. He received the bearers, therefore, with kindneſs [v]. He croſſed the river Drance to them, I ſuppoſe, and entered with them into their town of Orzieres on the other ſide. There he exerciſed that cautious policy, which is painful to be practiſed in common life, becauſe it keeps the mind continually upon the ſtrain; which is neceſſary to be exerciſed by every man, that aſpires to gain, or wiſhes to preſerve, a pre-eminence of practical wiſdom among his cotemporaries; and was always kept on the watch in Hannibal, by the neceſſities of his ſituation, and by the habits of his life [w]. He therefore endeavoured very carefully, to explore the bottom of their hearts, and to ſee the whole extent of their de-

[v] Livy xxi. 34. "Benignè quum reſpondiſſet."

[w] Polybius iii. 52. Ευλαβῶς δὲ διακειμενος προς την τοιαυτην πιστιν Αννιβας. That ευλαβῶς διακειμενος here, however contrary the interpretation may be to analogy, means (as it has always been rendered) cautious, ſolicitous, apprehenſive; is plain from iii. 49, where Hannibal's men are ſaid, becauſe of their intended march through the country of the Allobroges from Lyons, to be ευλαβῶς διακειμενοι, and where it cannot poſſibly ſignify any thing but apprehenſiveneſs.

ſigns.

ſigns [x]. They were well acquainted, they told him, with his reduction of the capital, and with his ſlaughter of the army, before [y]. They had been taught an uſeful leſſon, they added, in the experience of their neighbours [z]. For that reaſon they choſe rather to be in friendſhip, than at war, with him; and had come for that purpoſe to meet him, as not wiſhing to ſuffer, and not willing to form, any hoſtilities [a]. They then profeſſed their readineſs to execute all his commands, and to ſupply his army with proviſions [b]. They even offered to give up ſome of their number, as hoſtages for their friendly behaviour [c]. All this certainly carried a very fair appearance, of a dread of his power, and a deſire of his favour. Yet Hannibal ſaw ſomething in their

[x] Polybius iii. 52. Εξηταστι φιλοτιμως την επινοιαν αυτων, και την ολην επιβολην.

[y] Ibid. Των δε φασκοντων, καλως ειδεναι και την της πολεως αλωσιν, και την των ειχειρησαντων κατ' αυτου απωλειαν. "They "anſwered, *that* having been [well] informed, *that* he had taken *a neighbouring* town," that he had taken *the* town, "and "had deſtroyed *all* thoſe *that* had appeared in arms againſt him" (i. 359).

[z] Livy xxi. 34. "Alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos."

[a] Ibid. "Amicitiam malle quàm vim experiri Poenorum;" Polybius iii. 52. Διασαφουντων οτι παρεισι δια ταυτα, βουλομενοι μητε ποιησαι μητε παθειν δυσχερες μηδεν.

[b] Livy xxi. 34. "Itaque obedienter imperata facturos, com-"meatumque,—acciperet."

[c] Polybius iii. 52. Υπισχνουμενων δε και δωσειν εξ αυτων ομηρα. Livy xxi. 34. "Ad fidem promiſſorum obſides acciperet."

looks and ſpeeches, that indeed did not alter the *kindneſs of his manner, but heightened his cautiouſneſs* into diſtruſt [d]. A man like him, accuſtomed to converſe with mankind, to look full in the face of all, and to dive to the very bottom of the eye; might perhaps mark ſome muſcle to wriggle, or ſome nerve to ſhrink, ſome ſquint of cunning to appear, or ſome reſerve of fraud to lurk, under his ſearching eye-beam. The very promptneſs of their offers, and the very greatneſs of their promiſes, would certainly throw an air of ſuſpectability over all. But even experienced policy often counteracts its own purpoſes, by its own refinements. Hannibal's prudence was unwilling to ſhow the ſuſpicions, that his ſagacity ſuggeſted. His ſuſpicions hung upon his mind, for many hours [e]; the natural ſenſations of a mind, habitually jealous and judicious. But if he accepted their proffers of amity, he thought at laſt, he ſhould ſpeedily perhaps render them ſtill more kind and peaceable; if he refuſed them, he ſhould certainly throw them into a ſtate of open hoſtility with him [f]. With this kind of doubling policy,

[d] Polybius iii. 52. Ηυλαβειτο και δυπιστει τοις λεγομενοις, where ευλαβειτο apparently means to be cautious.

[e] Ibid. Πολυν μεν χρονον.

[f] Ibid. Συλλογιζομενος, ως ει λαθοι τα προλεγομενα, ταχ' αν ισως ευλαβεστερους και προσεκτικωτερους ποιησαι τους παραγενομενους. μη προσδεξαμενος δε, προδηλους εξει πολεμιους αυτους. "When he had

policy, he actually confounded his own wisdom. He lost his suspicions in his cunning. The fire of jealousy, smothered and kept down, died away in its own ashes; and even a Hannibal was thus over-reached, by barbarians.

He accepted their offers, and embraced their amity, with an hypocrisy that recoiled upon himself[g]. They delivered up their hostages very punctually. They brought in their cattle very plentifully. They gave themselves up without apprehension and without reserve, into his hands[h]. This must have been the work of the afternoon, or evening, at Orzieres; and effectually imposed upon Hannibal, and his general officers. The suspicions, that had not been avowed by the

" had reflected within himself, that his compliance with the " terms which this people now proposed," literally, his acceptance of the offers made by them, " might serve perhaps " to render them more *mild* and *cautious*," what an odd combination of ideas, and how repugnant to the general meaning! " and, on the other hand," &c. (i. 259). Ευλαβεστερους is evidently used here, not in its common acceptation of cautiousness, but in its primary and analogical import of kindness; and the sudden variation of the meaning is as remarkable, as it is wrong, in Polybius.

[g] Polybius iii. 52. Συγκατενευσε τοις λεγομενοις, και συνυπεκριθη τιθεσθαι φιλιαν προς αυτους.

[h] Ibid. Των δε βαρβαρων τα ομηρα παραδοντων, και θρεμμασι χορηγουντων αφθονως, και καθολου διδοντων σφας αυτους εις τας χειρας απαρατηρητως.

tongue, now faded away from the heart; and they all began to confide in thoſe, whom they had diſtruſted before [1]. *Then,* the next morning, I ſuppoſe, and juſt as Hannibal was preparing to renew his march, the Salaſſi brought forward the grand point in their plan of frauds, and offered to conduct him by a better road than he was going to purſue. This was ſurely a very ſtartling offer, and by its very ſound ſhould have put Hannibal upon his guard of policy again. But even a Hannibal was ſubject to the laws of nature, and ſuſceptible of credulous weakneſs at times. He and his officers liſtened to the propoſal, with their ſuſpicions all lulled to ſlumber in their heads, with their jealouſies all languiſhing into extinction in their hearts, and with a

[1] Polybius iii. 52. Επι ποσον επιστευσαν οι περι τον Αννιβαν, ωστε, κ. τ. λ. Polybius, throughout the whole compaſs of our preſent hiſtory preceding, ſpeaks of Hannibal perſonally; till in iii. 47 he notices his army as τοις περι τον Αννιβαν (p. 279), iii. 50 twice again (p. 282), and *here* again οι περι τον Αννιβαν. Caſaubon uniformly tranſlates all, by the perſonal appellation of Hannibal. Nor is there any other fault in this, but a deviation from the mode of Polybius's language; except in this laſt inſtance, in which the words import Hannibal and his general officers. In iii. 53. Caſaubon accordingly tranſlates πανιας—τους περι τον Αννιβαν, by "Poenorum univerſus exercitus" (p. 286). "Annibal was in *a great degree* induced, to "throw away *all* ſuſpicion; and even intruſted them" &c. (I. 359): literally, *Thoſe about Hannibal* truſted them *ſo far, as to,* &c.

fond

fond wish of abridging their toil of travel across these rugged mountains. They agreed to take the Salassi for their guides [k], and so fell into the very snare that these had laid for them. Thus did Hannibal, as Polybius with a useful particularity dates the fact, "on the *fourth* day" of his being among the Alps, "again become exposed "to great dangers [l];" and thus was Hannibal, as Livy properly observes, "circumvented by his "own arts, by cunning first, and by an ambus-"cade afterwards [m]."

The Salassi, we have seen, delivered up their hostages *immediately*. So near were their towns, to Hannibal's present position; and so plainly does the fact point at the towns, which I have already specified! They supplied him also with a great number of cattle, *immediately*. So well were their pastures stocked, at the moment; and so high, even on this *northern* side of the Alps, did

[k] Polybius iii. 52. Ωστε και καθηγεμοσιν αυτοις χρησθαι προς τας εξης δυσχωριας.

[l] Ibid. Ηδη δε τεταρταιος ων, αυθις εις κινδυνους παρεγενετο μεγαλους.

[m] Livy xxi. 34. "Suis artibus, fraude, deinde insidiis, "est—circumventus."

In all *this* period, Polybius is much more circumstantial and useful than Livy. The latter is imprudent enough, to make the Salassi offer themselves as guides, on their first appearance before Hannibal: "commeatum, *itinerisque duces*, et ad fidem "obsides, acciperet."

the range of paſturage then aſcend! But it is very obſervable, that they furniſhed him not with *corn*, as the Seduni had done before [n]. This ſhows the cultivation of corn not to have riſen up the mountains then, ſo high as Orzieres; though it had then reached St. Branchier. This, therefore, forms a broad line of diviſion, in the aſcending courſe of Alpine agriculture. The *thermometer* of civility, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, had riſen nearly as high in the ſcale at the period of Hannibal's expedition, as it is riſen at preſent. At Orzieres, ſays a traveller coming *down* theſe Alps, "we ſee, and not without wonder, the "harveſts ſtanding upon the high mountains "and the ſharp deſcents; it is goats which draw "the plough, and women who hold it, ſo light "and moveable is the ſoil [o]!" Very far removed therefore from that general barbariſm of manners, and that particular ignorance of the arts of life, which has been univerſally imputed to them; were theſe Alpine tribes at the time! Even *now*, let me add to their honour, that eſculent root the potatoe, which has been as falſely as univerſally attributed to our connexion with North America,

[n] Polybius before, σίτου καὶ βρωμάτων; now, βρώμασι only. Livy has only "pecoribus" before, and now "commeatu." So indiſtinct, and even deceiving, in his language here!

[o] Bourrit iii. 286. "Au bourg d'Orzieres—nous ne vîmes "pas ſans admiration, les moiſſons ſur des hautes montagnes "et ſur des pentes rapides," &c.

which

which has been ſpecifically ſurmiſed to have been firſt brought from Virginia to Ireland, but was originally introduced to our tables from Portugal, Spain, and the Eaſt Indies; is cultivated in great abundance upon the Alps, at Chamouni to the right of Hannibal's line of aſcent up them, and at Cormayeur to the right of his courſe of deſcent alſo, even amidſt the very glacieres of the mountains; though it was ſo little known in the *ſouth* of Italy a few years ago, that the people of Naples refuſed to eat it in an actual famine, and an Engliſh cargo of potatoes was obliged to be thrown into the ſea, becauſe it could not be ſold for money, and would not even be accepted as a preſent [P].

— V. —

[P] "It was at this town," ſays Smith concerning Youghall, "that the *firſt* potatoes *were landed in Ireland* by *Sir Walter* "*Raleigh*. The perſon who planted them, imagining that "the apple which grows on the ſtalk was to be uſed, gathered "them [the apples]; but, not liking their taſte, neglected "the roots till, the ground being dug afterwards to ſow ſome "other grain, the potatoes were diſcovered therein, and to "the great ſurpriſe of the planter vaſtly increaſed. And *from* "*theſe few the country was furniſhed with ſeed.*" A note here adds: "Ben Johnſon in his play, called Every Man out of his "Humour, Act ii, mentions potatoes as *a great rarity* when "he wrote." Text proceeds thus: "It is ſaid, Sir Walter "*brought them*, together with *tobacco*, into Ireland, from *Vir-* "*ginia*" (Antient and Preſent State of Cork I. 128. Dublin. 1750). This ſerves to ſhow the general fallaciouſneſs of tradition. The firſt attempt made by Raleigh to *trade* with

— V. —

We are now come to that point of Hannibal's march, which no delineators of his march have ever presumed to touch. They have all agreed in

America, was in April 1584; and then, *not* by *himself in person*, but by others for him. These arrived, *not* in *Virginia*, but at the island of Roanoke, near the mouth of the river Albemarle, in *North Carolina*; traded with the natives of the island, and of the continent adjoining; and returned to England with furs, pearl, coral, sassafras, cedar, and *a little tobacco*. In April 1585, Raleigh *sent* out some ships in order to *colonise*, which sailed along the coast of *Carolina*, settled a colony at Roanoke, and returned. This colony was taken off the island in 1586, by Drake; but a second colony of fifteen men was settled there, in that year. These were all dead or gone, when three ships arrived early in 1587, *sent* equally by Raleigh; commissioned to fix the colony to the north, in the bay of Chesapeak that divides Carolina from Virginia; but unable from the smallness of their force, to execute this commission. Two years afterwards, or in 1589, a slender reinforcement was *sent* them by Raleigh, but was beaten back to England by a storm; and the whole colony perished, not one individual ever returning to England (Mod. Un. Hist. xxxix. 235-240). These were all the attempts upon North America, that ever Sir Walter Raleigh made; and he was *personally* concerned in none. But the potatoe was *known among us, long before any of them*. "Of the *potatoe* and such venerous roots," cries Harrison, who wrote in 1579 (p. 215), "as are *brought* out of "*Spaine, Portingale*, and the *Indies*, to furnish up our bankets, "I speak not; wherein our *mures*," a general word for roots, still used in the west, "of no lesse force, and to be had about

"Crosbie

in one general conſpiracy againſt the facts, that now ſucceed immediately in his hiſtory; and have united

" Croſbie Ravenſwath, do now begin to have place" (p. 167: Deſcription of England prefixed to Holinſhed). Potatoes therefore were primarily introduced into theſe iſlands, from the Eaſt Indies through Spain and Portugal. But they came principally through the *latter* to us, as the *latter* ſent even her *ſailors* to *cook* them for us; ſuch of her ſailors aſſuredly as had been in the Eaſt-Indies, to ſhow us the mode of cooking them which they had ſeen among the natives. " Our cookes," the ſame writer tells us, " are for the moſt part muſical-headed Frenchmen," ſo long has French cookery been faſhionable among our gentlemen, and diſreputable among our writers! " and *ſtrangers*," meaning Portugueſe; for we have " ſundrie " —delicates, wherein *the ſweet hand* of *the ſeafaring Portin-* " *gale* is not wanting" (166). They were *afterwards* brought from Peru, it ſeems; as Gerard in his Herbal, publiſhed 1597, ſays, " this plant, which is called of ſome *ſkyrrits of Peru*, is " generally of us called *potatus* or *potatoes*;—I had in my gar- " den divers roots (that *I bought at the Exchange in London*), " where they flouriſhed until winter, at which time they " periſhed and rotted" (Shakeſpeare by Johnſon and Steevens, edition fourth, 1793, xi. 454). So completely is the firſt tranſmiſſion of potatoes from Virginia to Ireland by Sir Walter Raleigh, refuted from hiſtorical evidence! Yet what ſhows how little inclined criticks are to examine, and how a falſhood once broached goes on to impoſe upon the critical world, " it appears from Dr. Campbell's Political Survey of Great " Britain," we have been recently told by a very reſpectable author, " that potatoes were *brought into Ireland* about the " year 1610;" more than *thirty* years after they are noticed by Harriſon as on the table in England, and *thirteen* after they were cultivated by Gerard in a garden near London, " and that " they came *firſt* from Ireland *into Lancaſhire*:—Sir Walter " Raleigh

united to ſuppreſs them entirely. Even the Britiſh Hannibal himſelf, who ſaw the footſteps of the Carthaginian ſo deeply imprinted upon every rock, and fixed his own feet ſo ſecurely in them; appears not to have ever thought of this grand turn in his line of movement, and actually carries him by one and the ſame road, without any diverſion to the right or to the left, from the foot to the ſummit of the Alps. Yet the diverſion now made by the Carthaginians, forms a grand feature in the complexion of their Alpine tranſactions. It is ſtrikingly apparent here, and more ſtrikingly hereafter. Any deſcription therefore, that omits this, muſt be defective from the omiſſion itſelf, and falſe in the courſe aſſigned. If Hanibal now deſerted the regular road going up the Alps, as he certainly did; the writer, who ſtill carries him along that road, muſt either ſuppreſs the fact, of his caſting off his old guides for new, or act in contradiction to it; muſt equally ſuppreſs all that reſults from this change of guides,

" Raleigh was *the firſt, who planted them in Ireland*" (Shakeſpeare xi. 457).—As to the venereal influence attributed to them here by Harriſon, by Shakeſpeare incidentally, and by his commentator at full length from others (xi. 453-457); it is only a monument of temporary folly, ſtimulated to expoſe itſelf by a pruriency of paſſion.

For potatoes at Chamouni, ſee Bourrit iii. 50, at Cormayeur iii. 249, and at Naples, Baretti's Account of Italy ii. 139-140. Dublin.

or

or equally act in contradiction to it; muſt thus either ſtamp his account with the groſſeſt ſignature of folly, or prove unjuſt to the teſtimony of Polybius and Livy, untrue to the character of Hannibal, unfaithful to the veracity of hiſtory.

Hannibal had hitherto kept the Gallick embaſſadours for his guides, who knew the road well, had juſt come along it to him, and had now brought him ſucceſsfully nine miles up this ſide of the Alps. He had only about ſixteen farther, in a right aſcent to the top[q]. He would therefore reach the top, by a continuance in his preſent courſe, the very *next* day, the *fifth* of his Alpine march. Yet, with theſe new guides and by this new route, he was treble that number of days. So egregiouſly was he deceived by theſe Salaſſi, and ſo wildly devious was he now perſuaded to make his march! He was perſuaded, he ſhould find a road ſmoother and ſhorter than his own. The Salaſſi could render it as ſhort and as ſmooth, as they pleaſed. The Gallick embaſſadours could not contradict them, as they had never travelled it. They could probably corroborate their account, in the principal point. There was actually a road, as I ſhall ſoon ſhow, and there ſtill is, leading to an opening in the Alps and a deſcent into Piedmont, known only to

[q] See ſect. 8th of this chapter.

a few,

a few, but reported by many, and having probably reached the ears of the Gauls themſelves. Thus truth would ſerve to prop up the fabrick of falſhood, and all combine to impoſe upon Hannibal. Yet theſe moments were ſurely the weakeſt, of Hannibal's whole life. They certainly lower him, from his elevation of intellect. They exhibit him ſimple, confiding, and credulous. Malignity indeed ſhould not be gratified by thus repreſenting him, by pulling down the pride of human wiſdom, and placing it at the foot of folly; but the probity of hiſtory demands the act. In the conduct of ſuch a hero as this, hiſtory is too apt to put on the ideot ſmile of perpetual praiſe, to wonder with an ideot face of applauſe, and to ſee every fault loſt in the general blaze of his name.

Hannibal had come from St. Branchier to Orrieres, along the *northern* ſide of the Weſtern Drance. He now advanced, I ſuppoſe, along the *ſouthern*, and came oppoſite to St. Branchier again. Here commences a valley, that extends to the ſouth-eaſt, and nearly parallel with the regular road up the Alps, for many miles; and leads in a long, level aſcent, up to the creſts of the mountains; being watered all the way, by what we muſt call the *Eaſtern* arm of the Drance, and having the two arms unite for Martigny, a little to the ſouth of St. Branchier. This is called the

the VAL DE BAGNES or the Valley of Baths, from ſome baths at the village of Bagnes there, to which the gentry of the Vallais uſed to reſort in ſummer, but of which there are only ſlight remains at preſent; they and many of the houſes having been over-whelmed, by an immenſe maſs of ſnow, that rolled down from the top of their lofty hills[1]. This valley forms a conſiderable part of a diſtrict, that ſtretches up from the baſe to the ridge of theſe Alps, and is denominated *Pays d'Entremont* or the region within the Mountains; is fenced itſelf on every ſide, by large high

[1] Bourrit i. 32, 37, 38. "Cette vallée [de Bagnes], ainſi "nommée des bains celebres aux-quels on courroit anciennement de tout le Valais, commence à Saint-Branchier, et s' "etend juſqu'aux ſommets des montagnes,—ſur un plan incliné." Simler 81-82. "Vallis prima, quæ magis ad Orientem vergit, Bancas, credo a Balneis que fortè olim hic fuêre, nomen habet, et nomini inſignia reſpondent; hanc "fluvius a meridie defluens ſecat, qui propè Branſcherium "pagum alteri miſcetur, et ambo Dranſæ nomen accipiunt." Theſe baths muſt have been very antiently deſtroyed, ſince even Simler in 1567 ſpeaks of them as antient, and only known by ſuppoſition. Bourrit ſpeaks of their exiſtence and deſtruction, peremptorily. Nor can this be attributed, as the world at large is apt to attribute ſuch variations, to the proper ſpirit of Simler, ſpeaking only in the modeſt tone of fact, and to the improper ſpirit of Bourrit, uſing the loud trumpet of antiquarianiſm. Simler means the ſame with Bourrit, whatever he ſpeaks; and ſhows he does by the words, "et nomini inſignia reſpondent." But ſome men are afraid, to raiſe their language on a level with their ideas.

hills;

hills; and has no natural entrance, but through a narrow defile from St. Branchier, and along the ſide of the Drance there[s]. There he entered the valley, to move nearly in the line of his former direction, and to gain the ſummit of the Alps by a ſhorter and ſmoother road, that was known only to the natives of the mountains, and would carry him ſpeedily into Piedmont. Beyond the end of this valley is a defile, by which one may penetrate into Piedmont and the Milaneſe. The defile is very little known, even at preſent; and is generally known, only to the inhabitants of theſe mountains. But a lively and adventurous Genevan, having heard of its name, and being aſſured of its exiſtence, was tempted a few years ago to explore it. He took a native of the hills, a hunter of the wild goats, for his guide; and reached it. He there ſaw Piedmont directly under his eye. But what is very remarkable, and ſeems to indicate that this paſſage was known to the Romans, the opening there which preſents the fineſt view of Piedmont, in the French and Savoyard language that is ſpoken upon theſe Alps, and that the natives very properly call by the general name of ROMAN[t], is denominated *La*

[s] Bourrit i. 32. "La vallée eſt fermée à l'eſt par de hautes "montagnes.—La Val de Bagnes fait une partie conſiderable "du Pays d'Entremont." Simler 81: "Proximus conventus "a ſitu nomen habet, et Intramontius nominatur."

[t] Simler 77. "Noſtrâ ætate Veragri *Gallicâ* ſive *Sabaudicâ* "utuntur, *quam ipſi Romanam vocant.*"

Fenêtre

Fenêtre or the Window[u]. The report of ſuch a paſſage as this among the Gauls of Piedmont (I here obſerve again, in order to throw a ſoberer air of reality over this extravagant part of Hannibal's conduct) would give additional credibility, to the relation of the Salaſſi now. *Thoſe* did not know, and *theſe* would not tell, that the paſſage is blocked up almoſt always by froſt and ſnow. In truth, it is practicable only for a fortnight through the whole year. Even then, it is practicable for the natives alone; and ſo little even for them, that when the natives block up the other paſſes, to guard againſt any peſtilential diſorders, thoſe moſt formidable Hannibals of our race, in the countries below, they never think it worth their while to block up this[v].

Hanni-

[u] Bourrit i. 42-43, 75. Near Great St. Bernard we have a hill, called equally "Col entre les deux fenêtres" (Sauſſure iv. 249). In Bourrit's "Explication des planches" i. xiv, is this addition: "la gorge des Fenêtres eſt entre les deux premieres "ſommités," of Mount Gelè and Mount April in plates 1ſt and 2d.

[v] Bourrit i. 76. That rude and rough engineer of the Reformation, who was more eager than ſkilful, who blew up half the outworks of Chriſtianity, in ſpringing a mine to demoliſh a ſingle *cavalier*, which had been attached to the works, and weakened the whole of them, even Calvin; eſcaped once from the purſuing hand of Popery, by this very paſſage. "Ce fût "cependant par cette route extraordinaire, qu'illuſtre Calvin "s'échappa de Val-d'Aoſt, où il courut quelques dangers; et "pour aſſurer ſa fuite juſqu'en Valais, il s'engagea dans ce

Hannibal then advanced under his new guides, and turned on the right into the Val de Bagnes for the ſouth. This opens immediately from a narrow ſtrait, into a level of one mile and a half in breadth; but ſoon expands into nine miles broad. It thus goes on to the village of Bagnes, about eighteen miles from St. Branchier. There it begins to contract itſelf much, as drawing near to its termination; and actually terminates, about three miles beyond Bagnes[w]. Along this valley Hannibal proceeded, the *fourth* day of his being in the Alps; and encamped in it about ſix or eight miles, I ſuppoſe, to the ſouth of St. Branchier; expecting from the aſſurances of his Salaſſian conductors, no doubt, to deſcend with energy the next morning upon Italy. The next morning he renewed his march, in the ſame expectation aſſuredly; had the hills which were to begin his deſcent, continually pointed out to him through the courſe of the day, by the fingers of his guides, as now mixing with the blue ſky, now coming forward in miſts, and now ſhowing

" paſſage dangereux: cette circonſtance de la vie de ce Refor-
" mateur celebre ſeroit reſtée ignorée, ſans la tradition qu'en
" ont conſervée les habitans de ces montagnes; il arrive ſi ra-
" rement, qu'on les aille viſiter: quand on a eté chez eux, ils
" en conſervent le ſouvenir dans leur familles pendant long-
" temps" (Bourrit i. 76-77). So cloſely is this país connected with two ſuch different and diſtant perſonages in hiſtory, as Hannibal and John Calvin!

[w] Bourrit i. 32-33, 42, 44.

them-

themſelves apparent in their real forms; thus found them perpetually at a greater diſtance, than *they* had ſignified and *he* had apprehended them to be. He bore the diſappointment the better, I ſuppoſe, from the levelneſs of the ground and the pleaſantneſs of the region. On the two ſides of this plain are very fine hills, all cultivated now, and always ranged in an amphitheatrical form; and the land is very fertile, as being ſcreened by the height of theſe hills from thoſe formidable blaſts of the north, which in other quarters of theſe Alps come with ſuch a deſtructive efficacy[x]. Accordingly, neither Livy nor Polybius notes any difficulty in the road, for either of theſe days. Both therefore ſhow it by their ſilence, to have been as this is, eaſy, level, and pleaſant.

Hannibal, ſays Polybius, "marched TWO days "with the Salaſſi, preceding his army" to conduct him[y]. But he marched, even in this confiding ſtate of his mind, with ſome apprehenſions ſtill awake in his ſoul[z], and with all his precautions carefully taken againſt a ſurprize. The man might be over-reached, but the general could not be off his guard. He probably reconciled to him-

[x] Bourrit i. 32-33.

[y] Polybius iii. 52. Προπορευομενων δ' αυτων επι δυο ημεραις.

[z] Polybius iii. 53. Δεδιοτες ακμην επι ποσον.

ſelf- his fond affiance on the Salaſſian guides, by his circumſpection in guarding againſt any enterprize from their countrymen. A Hannibal muſt certainly have had ſome blind held up before his eagle-eye, under ſuch a confiding weakneſs of mind. He had even, adds Polybius, "a foreſight "of the future[a]," a preſage upon his mind of the treachery intended; a ſort of dubious intimation from his reaſon, which acted up to its convictions, and rung a peal of warning in his ear; not ſufficient to divert him from his deſign, yet loud enough to make him move in it with cautiouſneſs and care. He therefore paſſed through their country, juſt as he had paſſed through that of the Seduni and that of the Allobroges before, in regular order for fighting, and with his uſual line of march. His vanguard was compoſed of the elephants and cavalry; his baggage moved behind; while he himſelf came in the rear of the whole with the main body, all heavy-armed infantry, throwing his eyes attentively about him, and being ſolicitous for the ſecurity of all[b].

[a] Polybius iii. 53. Προωρόμενος το μελλον, "by a wiſe precau-"tion" (i. 360).

[b] Livy xxi. 34. "Nequaquam ut inter pacatos, compoſito "agmine duces eorum ſequitur; primum agmen elephanti et "equites erant; ipſe poſt cum robore peditum, circumſpec-"tans ſollicituſque omnia, incedebat." Polybius iii. 53. Τα μεν σκευοφορα και τους ιππεις ειχεν εν τη πορευσει, τους δ' οπλιτας επι τας αρχας.

— VI. —

In the the afternoon of the ſecond day[c], the *fifth* of his Alpine movements, he actually approached that grand breaſtwork of hills, which had been ſo repeatedly marked to him by his guides, I ſuppoſe, as the termination at once of the valley and of the Alps, and as the opener of his inſtant paſſage into Italy. They thus brought him to a paſs, which they meant to be the ſcene of their perfidy, which had been previouſly pitched upon by the guides and their countrymen, and was every way adapted to the execution of their villainy. Such a long train of artifice had they drawn out, againſt him! With ſo much refinement had they projected, and with ſo much addreſs had they proſecuted, their ſcheme of infamous treachery! To ſuch a height of infernal diſſimulation in both, had theſe Alpine mountaineers now reached! Perfidy may be attributed to Courts, by the ſuperficial ſurveyor of mankind; but is fully as frequent and as foul in the Wilderneſs, as it is in the Drawing-room. It is in every place where man is; and the ſavage upon the Alps is often as great an adept, in this univerſal vice of the world, as a Walſingham, a Cecil, or an Elizabeth.

[c] See the ſequel.

About three miles to the ſouth of Bagnes is the village of LUTTIER, lying along the Drance, and therefore on the loweſt ſide of this long valley. It is alſo ſituated directly under the right-hand mountains, and expoſed to dreadful balls of ſnow rolling down from them. One rolled down in 1759, and razed away or puſhed off from their foundations a ſcore of houſes into the river, in leſs than two minutes. Theſe being almoſt wholly of timber [d], and therefore well-compacted together, would move away nearly as entire as they ſtood; and actually ſwam like ſo many high-built floats, upon the current. An inhabitant of the village, who had deſcended the day before to the market at Martigny, re-aſcending the day after to Bagnes, was not a little ſurprized a league below his habitation, to meet the timber-roof of his own houſe carried along by the river [e]. From the village of Luttier begins to mount up a ſharp road, that is paved with the natural rock in vaſt plates. But this road ſoon ſeems to be barred up by the projecting ſide of the mountain, and the whole valley in appearance is there cloſed. It was ſo originally, no doubt; as the Drance ſtill opens a violent paſſage on the left, by throwing itſelf headlong down the precipices which ſtop it. A whole river is ſeen by thoſe who ſtand below,

[d] Bourrit i. 37. "Maiſons qui ſont preſque toutes de bois."
[e] Bourrit i. 45.

tumbling down from ſo lofty a height, that it ſeems to be falling from the clouds. The length of the aſcent, therefore, is conſiderable; all marked by three ſtages. The firſt mounts up ſo high, that the bed of the Drance in the valley appears to the ſight, not leſs than *eighty* feet below; while the hearing is alarmed even at that height, with the ſound of boulders and rocks, which the Drance precipitates from the mountains, and rolls along with its waters. We then come to a point, at which the mountain has been apparently opened to admit the road. This part of the aſcent, therefore, is every inſtant expoſed to the fall of rocks. Some hang ſuſpended over the road, as if they had been arreſted there in their courſe, by an arm of miraculous might. Nothing impreſſes the human heart with religion, ſo much as fear. Accordingly the natives, ſince Chriſtianity has taught them the Salvation of the Croſs, and Superſtition induced them to place a temporal reliance on a repreſentation of the Croſs, have fixed a Crucifix before the falling rocks; in fond hope of preventing them by the efficacy of this barrier, from moving any farther and coming down to cruſh them. But the dangerous road ſtill continues to aſcend, in magnificent terribleneſs, from the opening; till it riſes to a level with the Drance above [f].

[f] Bourrit i. 45-46.

The Carthaginians, says Polybius conformably, had now reached "a certain hollow, difficult to "be passed, and lined with precipices [g]." "They "were come," adds Livy in equal conformity to all, "to a very narrow way, *upon one side* placed "under a mountain that was hanging over it [h]." They were now to turn on the right, for the lower side of the valley through which the river runs; and, in which, the fall and force of its current from the high mountain beyond, has wrought for itself a hollow, a vale within a vale. The road across this is embarrassed by the torrent of the Drance, just fallen from the mountain, chafed, fretted, and boiling with the agitation of its waters; and is obstructed by the rocks, which the torrent brings in its descent with it, or the boulders which it rolls along its channel. They were then

[g] Polybius iii. 52. Φαραγγα τινα δυσβαλον και χρημνωδη. "The "Carthaginians were now engaged in *passing through* a valley, "that was *surrounded* on *every* side by steep and *insuperable* "precipices" (i. 359). This presents to us a triumphant Hibernism of language. It is exactly the same with the celebrated indictment of a road by the late Judge Page, as *impassable* in itself; from his own view of it, when he *passed* it the day before. This elegant Atticism from the region of Tipperary, Mr. Hampton has transplanted in equal bloom into the garden of Polybius; and has left it there to stand, to flourish, to breathe its strong perfume upon all around it, and yet to find itself a stranger in the land of strangers.

[h] Livy xxi. 34. "In angustiorem viam, ex parte alterâ "subjectam jugo insuper imminenti, ventum est."

to

to ſtrain up the precipice beyond, and to ſtruggle through the overhanging ridge above. The vanguard of elephants and cavalry, had actually advanced acroſs the hollow; the long line of baggage had actually all entered, while ſome had paſſed, it; and Hannibal actually ſtood with the main body, upon the ground leading down into it [i]. At this important moment, the Salaſſi fell ſuddenly upon his army. A large body of men, ſays Polybius, "had been collected together and had followed "him;" or, as Livy ſays, "ſuddenly roſe from "their ambuſcade in the rear." Theſe had therefore been concealed in the woods, on the right of his march and near the point of this paſs; but roſe from their ambuſcade when he had gone by them, formed in the vale behind him, followed his rear out of ſight, and attacked him at this inſtant [k]. Another body of men appeared equally on the ridge of the mountain before him, at the ſame inſtant; and attacked his van [l]. And the guides, we may be ſure, who were marching at the head of the van, now advanced

[i] Polybius iii. 52. Επιτιθενται, φαραγγα τινα—περαιωμενων αυτων. Livy xxi. 34. "Dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in "anguſtias." And the ſequel.

[k] Polybius iii. 52. Συναθροισθεντες—και συνακολουθησαντες. Livy xxi. 34. "Ex inſidiis Barbari—, ab tergo coorti, cominus— "petunt." For the woods, Bourrit i. 37, "leurs forêts et les "beaux bois," and Livy xxi. 34, "in eo *ſaltu*."

[l] Livy xxi. 34. "Undique ex inſidiis Barbari—, a fronte— "coorti,—petunt."

farther before it under pretence of reconnoitering the ascent, and stole away to their countrymen on the mountain.

Thus assailed in front and in rear at once, by a sudden burst of perfidy; had Hannibal been off his guard at the moment, the whole army of the Carthaginians must have been crushed by the blow [m]; and Hannibal's march over the Alps have been considered in the history of man, as one of the wildest exertions of military extravagance. So much depends upon success, with a being that pretends to reason! In front, the Salassi upon the crest of the mountain, moving parallel with the elephants, the cavalry, and the baggage, plied them with missive stones from the boulders above-mentioned, and rolled down upon them the huge rocks noted before [n]. But they brought their principal force, and made their principal assault, against the rear [o]. Unless this was beaten, their perfidy would be incomplete. To overpower the horse and elephants, to master

[m] Polybius iii. 53.

[n] Ibid. Αντιπαραγοντες οι βαρβαροι ταις παρεμβειαις, και τοις μεν τας πετρας επικυλιοντες, τους δ' εκ χειρος τοις λιθοις τυπτοντες, κ. τ. λ. Livy xxi. 34. "A fronte—coorti,—eminus petunt, saxa ingentia in "agmen devolvunt." Livy omits two striking particulars in Polybius's account, the moving parallel with the Carthaginian van, and plying it with stones from the hand.

[o] Livy xxi. 34. "Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urge-"bat."

the

the baggage, might be some advantage and some credit; but to crush the main body, was naturally their grand aim. Hannibal however faced about with the main body, on his assailing enemies. He had the flower of his army with him, and soon beat them off [p]. No number of undisciplined mountaineers, probably, could stand against the veterans of his main body; and this stroke of success, was the preservation of the whole army [q].

Yet the enemy still continued in force, at a little distance from him. He was unwilling therefore, to quit the ground on which he stood, and to march down into the hollow [r]. By staying there, he was ready to secure the advanced parts of his army, from an attack on their rear; and, if he marched down, he should certainly invite a fresh attack upon his own [s]. He saw that the enemy, by continuing in force after they were beaten, were waiting to make such an attack. He saw also, that he should expose his men by

[p] Polybius iii. 53. Ουτοι γαρ εστεξαν την επιφοραν των Βαρβαρων. Livy xxi. 34. "In eos versa peditum acies."

[q] Livy xxi. 34. "Versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit, "quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo "saltu accipienda clades fuerit."

[r] Ibid. "*Cunctatur* Hannibal *demittere* agmen."

[s] Ibid. "Demittere agmen in *angustias*, quia non, ut ipse "equitibus præsidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam ab tergo "auxilii reliquerat."

their

their very order of marching along the narrow defile, to the moſt imminent danger of deſtruction from the enemy behind; while his aſcent up the avenue would be continually retarded, by the ſlow movements of his baggage before, and be continually expoſed all the while, to the galling artillery of ſtones and rocks from above. But, to crown the danger of his ſituation, the night was coming on, and the darkneſs would ſoon find him entangled in the hollow, entangled in the aſcent, entangled with the Salaſſi on every ſide; theſe then moving under cover of the night, advancing unſeen along their well-known grounds, and aſſaulting him with higher confidence from all. In this extremity of diſtreſs and danger, Hannibal determined upon a meaſure of equal neceſſity, boldneſs, and propriety; to take poſt on *this* ſide of the defile, for the night; and leave his baggage to the care of his cavalry and elephants, till the morning. He therefore threw his eyes around, to find a proper poſition for his infantry during the night; one, that would ſecure them from any aſſault in the dark; one, that would alſo prevent the Salaſſi behind him, from attacking his baggage, elephants, and cavalry before. Such a mind as Hannibal's would perhaps have ſoon created, what it wanted; and made even the ground on which he was poſted at preſent, to ſerve in ſome meaſure for his purpoſe. But he fortunately marked a rock near him, that was naturally

turally ſtrong in itſelf, and attracted his attention by the whiteneſs of its appearance. It was indeed upon the other ſide of the hollow, but then it was at the very mouth of the defile there; being the very rock aſſuredly on the mountain-ſide of the Drance, upon which the village of Luttier ſtands at preſent; and from which the overgrown ſnow-ball of the mountain behind, did ſweep away a number of houſes into the river. He moved to take poſſeſſion of it. He marched rapidly, no doubt, acroſs the hollow; to prevent the enemy from advancing after him, and annoying him in it. He took poſt upon the white rock. There he precluded effectually the deſigns of the Salaſſi, as they durſt not attack him in his preſent poſition, and as they could not otherwiſe come to aſſault his vanguard and baggage. Had they advanced to attack him there, the very hollow, in which they meant to aſſault *him* before, would now be a diſadvantage and a ſnare to *themſelves*; while the rock itſelf, having the hollow and the river in its front, and the lofty mountain in its rear, ſtood as the bar of nature to ſhut up the door of the defile [t].

—VII.—

[t] Polybius iii. 53. Εις ολοσχερη διαλροπην και κινδυνον ηγον ουλως· ωςι αναγκασθηναι τον Αννιβαν μετα της ημισειας δυναμεως νυκτερευσαι περι ΤΙ ΛΕΥΚΟΠΕΤΡΟΝ ΟΧΥΡΟΝ, χωρις των ιππων και των υποζυγιων εφεδρευοντα τουτοις. They "ſpread ſo great terror and "diſorder through the army," a faint dead verſion of what ought

— VII. —

In all the illuſtrations which have hitherto been made of Hannibal's route, little attention has been paid to that neceſſary work, of adapting the

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— VII. —

In all the illuſtrations which have hitherto been made of Hannibal's route, little attention has been paid to that neceſſary work, of adapting the

the ſcenes to the actions. Even when attention has been once or twice paid, it appears injudicious in the aim, and unfortunate in the iſſue. We ſee a gleam of this, caſting a ſort of dubious light upon the preſent portion of the hiſtory. The white rock of Hannibal's encampment ſeems deſigned to be reflected, by a rock of ſimilar appellation in the aſcent to Little St. Bernard. General Melvill, as we have ſeen before, carries Hannibal up to the top of *his* Alps by a "*Roche* "*Blanche*;" and Mr. Pownall conducts him equally, by "the *White Rock*." Theſe coincidences in ſound or in ſenſe between their route and Polybius's, though not urged as an argument by either of thoſe authors, may ſeem to lend a ſlight kind of ſanction to their courſe, and muſt therefore in fairneſs to my readers be noticed by me. A white rock perhaps would not be difficult to be found, upon any of the lines that have been drawn for Hannibal's movements. In a range

guage of the Alps, the Celtick. We have *Lluyd* in Welſh for an army or a camp, *Lluydda* in Welſh to make war, *Lluyddeur* in Welſh and *Lluedeyr* in Gallick for a ſoldier; *Luteva*, now *Ledeve*, a town in France; *Lutetia*, the Gallick name for the city of Paris; and *Luteſia* in the Bretoon, for a fortification (Bullet iii. 98). We have even *Lutudar-on* in the Anonymous Chorographer of our own country, for a Britiſh town in it; which, with the Celtick eliſion, that renders our own *Loudon* into *Lon'on* in pronunciation, and has reſolved *Lugdunum* into *Lyons* in writing, would very eaſily melt down into *Lutter* or *Lustar*.

of

of mountains like the Alps, that often preſent whole hills of calcareous ſtone, or ſhow their heads capt with ſnow; a white rock muſt frequently be ſeen among them. Thus (not to ſpend time in queſting after many names) we have a *Roche Blanche* on the road of Little St. Bernard, a *Pierre Blanche* not far from the road over Mount Cenis [v], and that mighty monarch of the Alps, the celebrated *Mount Blanc*. We muſt therefore not content ourſelves, in the eaſy acquieſcence of a lazy antiquarianiſm, with the mere caſualty of a white rock occurring; but examine the particular poſition of the rock, and mark how accommodable it is to the tenour of the hiſtory. Tried by this neceſſary touchſtone, the ſeeming gold is inſtantly found to be ſpurious; and the Roche Blanche of Little St. Bernard, "hides its "diminiſhed head" from the view of Polybius. To ſhow this, let us recur again to the account before. There we ſee the General's courſe, mounting "through a long, ſteep, and rugged gully, to "the right of a rapid current without a name, "but *on the left* of a *hill* called Roche Blanche [w]." Is this then the character of Polybius's place? Are theſe the features of his white rock? Undoubtedly they are not. Though there is a gully, a river, and a hill at both, yet the diſpoſition

[v] Dury's Map of Borgoni.

[w] Chap. ii. ſect. 1.

of

of all is very different in both. The rock and the hill are the ſame, in General Melvill's account; while the hill of Polybius is totally diſtinct from Polybius's rock, and *this* lies at the foot of *that*. The hill of the General indeed is a mere rock, as appears from its appellation ſo ſtrange for a mountain that of *Roche* Blanche. This rock appears equally from its name and its nature, to riſe up in a ſpire, on which no army *could* encamp, and to which the Carthaginians are not even *ſuppoſed* to aſcend; while the rock of Polybius was only a ſmall elevation with a flat ſurface, was large enough to admit an army encamped upon it, and actually had the main body of the Carthaginians upon it for a whole night. So very different is the Roche Blanche of the one, from the White Rock of the other! But there is a difference between them, ſtill more ſtriking. You go, ſays the account before, from "the *foot* of Petit St. "Bernard, *up its weſtern ſide*,—cloſe on the left of "a hill called Roche Blanche, *near* the *bottom* of "the *aſcent*;" and "*ſo to the ſummit*." This rock-hill, therefore, is at the foot of Little St. Bernard, near the bottom of the aſcent up it, and within a ſhort diſtance from the ſummit of it; while Polybius's rock and mountain, as the ſequel ſhows, are no leſs than FOUR days march from the ſummit of Hannibal's Alps. This adds a phyſical impoſſibility to the geographical differences before, againſt the identity of theſe two hills or rocks.

rocks. Nor let us neglect to ſubjoin, that General Melvill, carrying the Carthaginians up the Alps by one regular and uninterrupted road, and never making a grand *detour* with them, as Polybius does, can never find that White Rock upon the regular road, which Polybius finds only upon the road of the *detour*. The Roche Blanche of Little St. Bernard, then, can never be the White Rock of Polybius; even if we had not ſo many demonſtrations preceding, of Hannibal's entering the Alps at a very different point. But every advance that we have made in the hiſtory, has ſerved to confirm us in the rightneſs of the way. Reaſon has thus been added to reaſon, and conviction riſen over conviction, till we have ſeen the argument growing with the growth of the antient giants. And, in the vanity of an author perhaps, I hope to ſee it come forward at laſt like Briareus with his hundred hands, effectually vindicate the ſupremacy of truth, and free it for ever from the chains, which ſome rebel GODS have put upon it [w].

On this rock of Luttier, white in its appearance, but flat and broad in its ſurface, did Hannibal take poſt with all his main body for the night [x]. That meaſure, though neceſſary in itſelf,

[w] See Iliad i. 395-407.

[x] Juſt above it are certainly rocks, "ſatinés en verd et "*blanc*" (Bourrit i. 46). This therefore is equally white, we

ſelf, was certainly a deſperate one. He had no tents, he had no proviſions, with him. His baggage, his elephants, and his cavalry, were ſtraining with equal pain and peril all the night, up this ſteep and rugged defile [y]. The Salaſſi on the ridge of the mountain above, continued to ſend their ſhowers of ſtones, and to roll their maſſes of rock, upon them. They thus deſtroyed now and before, horſes in the cavalry, horſes in the cars, and horſes under the burdens, troopers

we may preſume; if it was examined by the eye of an hiſtorian.

[y] Polybius iii. 53. Ος, Hannibal, εν ολῃ τῃ νυκτι ταυτα, the ιπποι and υποζυγια before, μολις εξεμηρυσατο της χαραδρας. Hannibal took poſt "to ſecure the cavalry and baggage, till they "had all paſſed the *valley*. And this was at laſt accompliſhed. But ſuch was the roughneſs and the difficulty of theſe "*defiles*, that the whole night was ſcarcely ſufficient for the "work" (i. 360). Here is the *body* of Polybius, but the *ſoul* is fled. With the life and ſpirit of Polybius in it, the figure ſhould thus exhibit itſelf in the mirrour; "the baggage and the "cavalry could ſcarcely *draw themſelves* through the *ravine*, "during the whole night." Mr. Hampton has alſo made the defile into *more than one*, has not expreſſed the *nature* of it, and has even expanded it into a *valley*. He has thus confounded it, with the hollow or valley before; and made the army ſtruggle the whole night in "paſſing through a valley, that was "ſurrounded on every ſide by ſteep and inſuperable precipices." We have no word in our language to anſwer the Greek χαραδρα, which is the word here, and very different from φαραγξ before; but the French *ravine*, introduced among us by our military men, comes very near it.

and drivers, to a very great amount [z]. Nor was this all. The cavalry and the elephants haſtening to get out of the defile, in order to ſave themſelves from the galling artillery of the mountain; and the baggage neceſſarily moving with much greater ſlowneſs, after them; a large interval was ſoon made between them. The main body alſo taking poſt on the rock at the mouth of the defile, there was another interval made between the baggage and it. The Salaſſi on the ridge ſaw both; and ran obliquely down the ſteep ſide of the hill, to take advantage of both. They thus took poſt upon the road, before and behind the baggage; all the baggage muſt now have been, at their command; and the whole army was in the moſt imminent danger of deſtruction, from the total loſs of its tents and its proviſions [a].

But,

[z] Polybius iii. 53. Πολυ τι πληθος και των ανδρων, και των υποζυγιων, και των ιππων, διεφθαρη. Livy xxi. 35. "Saltus—haud ſine "clade (majore tamen jumentorum quàm hominum pernicie) "ſuperatus."

[a] Livy alone informs us of this bold movement in the Salaſſi, xxi. 34. "Dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen "in anguſtias,—occurſantes per obliqua Montani, perrupto "medio agmine, viam inſedêre." Livy notices only the ſtop of Hannibal at the mouth of the defile, as the *cauſe* of this interval; "tunc quoque ad extremum periculi, ac propè per-"niciem, ventum eſt, *nam*, dum cunctatur," &c. But the very nature of the operations ſuggeſts another cauſe with it, which I have therefore inſerted. Livy indeed mentions not the baggage; but the loſs of *this* could alone *bring deſtruction* upon the

But, happily for Hannibal, that very nature of the ground, which was of ſo much diſſervice to him, and had been ſelected for his complete deſtruction, was now his preſervation. The baggage was taken, yet could not be carried off. The enemy had no opening out of the defile. The elephants, the cavalry, were at one extremity of it, and the main body was at the other. A frightful precipice lined the road on the left, and an overhanging mountain ſhaded it on the right. The baggage therefore, though in the hands of the Salaſſi, was ſtill locked up ſafe from them in their own faſtneſſes. Men indeed, ſo uſed to climb up mountains and to run down precipices, would have been ſure, with the impulſe of plunder keen upon them, to find ways and means of carrying off ſome portable parts of the baggage, if there had been any, in the courſe of the night. But, as the army had no private and perſonal baggage with it, there were only tents in packages and proviſions in barrels; both of them articles, too bulky for ſuch an up-hill conveyance. The damage thus ſuſtained by the Carthaginians, therefore, muſt have been little

the army. So Livy xxi. 33. before, "exutum impedimentis "exercitum nequicquam incolumem traduxiſſet;" and ſo Polybius iii. 51. Ω; ουδε τοις διαφυλαττουσι τον κινδυνον εις σωτηριαν, τω σκευοφορικω διαφθαρησεσθαι. Nor could the baggage be in danger of being loſt, except from cutting off its connexion with the van, as well as the rear.

or nothing in itſelf; and was ſo nearly or ſo wholly nothing, as not to be noticed by either Livy or Polybius.

In this very remarkable incident of Hannibal's expedition acroſs the Alps, the main body of the Salaſſi, which meant to fall upon the main body of the Carthaginians, as ſoon as the latter had entered the defile; which however, with the natural haſtineſs of unpractiſed ſoldiers, began the attack before the other had even deſcended into the hollow; and then continued in force at a little diſtance, ready to purſue their original plan, but baffled in their readineſs, by Hannibal's taking poſt for the night at the mouth of the defile; could not, any more than Hannibal's infantry, fetch a circuit in the night to the head of the defile, there join their countrymen on the ridge, and ſo cruſh the cavalry and elephants at once. The lofty mountains, which keep the inhabitants of this valley at preſent, in an inſulated ſtate of ſecurity amid the tempeſts, that agitate the ocean of life around them; are apparently impaſſable to an army, in every quarter but this [b]. But their courage, being merely the courage of inſidiouſneſs, of treachery, and of cowardice, never thought of ſuch an exertion in all proba-

[b] Bourrit i. 35. "Leurs montagnes, preſqu' inacceſſible, les "iſolent au milieu des debats de princes."

bility;

bility; and continued only near the Carthaginians, becauſe the night prevented their departure, and their baffled ſpirits could not yet ſettle upon any new operation. In the morning, they had ſo far recovered themſelves from the ſtun of that reflection, which is peculiarly confounding (I believe) to perfidious cunning, of having been villains in vain; as to reſolve upon an immediate retreat, diſappointed, diſcomfited, and diſpirited. They marched away, and ſo concluded their villainy in folly; as Hannibal inſtantly did what he durſt not have done, if they had ſtaid [c]. He entered the defile. The ſight of their retreat, too, would operate with a chilling power upon the party on the mountain, and check the vigour of their efforts. Hannibal actually found it ſo. That natural artillery of barbarians, that primitive battery of ſtones and rocks from the mountain, had ceaſed to play, we may be ſure, the moment the Salaſſi ſallied down the ſides of the hill. It muſt otherwiſe have done execution, upon the Salaſſi themſelves. But then the Salaſſi continued to deſcend upon the baggage, to examine the contents of it, and to re-aſcend with intelligence concerning it, all the night. Even when the morning came on, this flux and re-flux of prædatory parties ſtill continued. More intent

[c] Polybius iii. 53. Τῇ δ' ὑπαυρίον τῶν πολεμίων χωρισθείσῃ συναφὰς, κ. τ. λ.

upon pillaging for themſelves, than ſtudious of annoying the enemy, they ſtill kept on the marauding warfare; but with leſs eagerneſs, becauſe with leſs hope [d]. Thus ſtopt and examined ſucceſſively in parts, through the whole night; the long line of baggage had juſt reached the head of the aſcent, when the morning came [e]. Hannibal therefore had no baggage before, to retard his march; no battery on his flank, to gall his troops; and no enemy behind, to attack his rear. He puſhed through the defile without any obſtruction, and joined his vanguard again [f].

— VIII. —

HANNIBAL had now eſcaped this ſecond danger. The well-fabricated balloon of Salaſſian villainy, had burſt with its own *gas* within; and thoſe, who were mounting to the clouds in it, were thrown to the ground ſeverely hurt. Yet this danger was much more formidable, than that at the entrance into the Alps; from the perfidy on

[d] Livy xxi. 35. "Poſtero die, jam ſegniùs *intercurſantibus* "Barbaris," &c.

[e] Polybius iii. 53. Εν ολη τη νυκτι—μολις.

[f] Ibid. Συναψας τοις ιππευσι και τοις υποζυγιοις. "The Carthaginian general joined the cavalry, and continued his march" (i. 360). Mr. Hampton leaves *all* the *baggage* of Polybius, to the enemy. Livy xxi. 35. "Junctæ copiæ."

which

which it was founded, and from the artfulneſs with which it was conducted. It had alſo been accompanied with a greater loſs. He had indeed ſuffered a very conſiderable one [g]. But his loſs, as before, was more among his cattle than his men [h]; a circumſtance that ſhows in the repetition, what a large number of cattle he muſt have carried with him.

Yet what ſhall he now do? He has marched four-and-twenty miles, by his new road from Orzieres; when ſixteen, by the old, would have reached the ſummit of the Alps [i]. But has he now reached the ſummit, and ſhall he now deſcend upon Italy? Alas! he cannot deſcend, becauſe he has not reached. He is upon a hill, that, inſtead of ſhowing Italy immediately under him to the ſouth, ſpreads out a delightful plain before him; exhibits beyond it the Eaſtern Drance, almoſt buried in the deep abyſs of its nearly cloſing banks of rock; and diſplays thoſe vaſt deſerts of ice and ſnow, the Glacieres, extending in all the horrible majeſty of a Polar winter, along the horizon [k]. What courſe therefore ſhall he now take?

[g] Livy xxi. 35. "Saltus—haud ſine *clade*—ſuperatus."

[h] Ibid. "Majore tamen jumentorum quàm hominum pernicie."

[i] See the ſequel of this ſection.

[k] Bourrit i. 46-49, and Sauſſure's map prefixed to vol. iii. The Glacieres, which are now viſited as objects of terrible

take? He has already ſpent *five* days in the Alps, and on the *ſixth* is to determine upon his route up them. So unfortunate has he been made, by his late eruption of credulity! From the iſſue of it he has learnt ſtill more than ever, we may be ſure, to ſharpen his natural edge of ſuſpiciouſneſs; to be doubly on his guard, againſt any remains of generous confidingneſs in his boſom; and to conſider himſelf as in a ſtate of perpetual hoſtility, againſt the certain treachery of man. But how ſhall he extricate himſelf at preſent, from this ſavage wilderneſs of rocks and ice into which he has been deluded? He now, no doubt, had recourſe again to his original guides the Gauls. Theſe, however, were got beyond the ſphere and orbit of their knowledge. He had deſerted the great road, which they knew; and deviated into another, with which they were unacquainted. The Salaſſian guides too, who might

curioſity, and were ſo viſited for the *firſt* time by an enterpriſing traveller of our own country, POCOCKE; were previouſly reckoned ſo formidable, as to attach the name of *Montagnes Maudites* or *Montagnes du Diable*, to ſome of their adjoining hills (Keyſler i. 222, and Bourrit i. 208). Pococke himſelf ſays no more of his viſit, than that "near Baume he "ſaw in the month of June *an extraordinary grotto*, called Glaciere, by reaſon it has always ice in it," &c. (vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 219.) Yet as Bourrit tells us iii. 4, "l'illuſtre Pococke fut "le premier, qui voulut connoitre." So much more dignified have the Glacieres ſince become, than they appeared at firſt! But perhaps Pococke was too phlegmatick.

have

have been compelled perhaps with a halter about their necks, to ſhow him the beſt way out of that wilderneſs into which they had led him; and who yet could hardly have been truſted, after ſuch evidences of malignant treachery, even with inſtant death before them; had aſſuredly eſcaped, in the manner which I have ſpecified already. Yet, with all this, the ſituation of Hannibal was not ſo deſperate as it may ſeem to be. Though the Gauls with him knew nothing of this wild and devious part of the Alps, they knew enough of the general line in which they had moved, to be certain they could not be very far from the regular road. When they had, at three miles from Orzieres to the eaſt, entered the Val de Bagnes; they had moved almoſt parallel with that road, only diverged from it gradually to the eaſt, and could not therefore be at a very great diſtance from it at preſent. In fact, they were only about eight or nine miles[l]. Yet how ſhall they get back to it? The nature of the intermediate country is ſuch, ſays Bourrit concerning one paſs in it; the only writer, who has travelled over any part of it, and who had no idea of Hannibal's march along it; that "there are no "troops, which would expoſe themſelves to "periſh without glory, in a gorge like this[m]."

[l] Map prefixed to Sauſſure, vol. iii.

[m] Bourrit i. 47. "Il n'eſt point de troupes, qui vouluſſent "s'expoſer à perir ſans gloire, dans une gorge comme celle-la."

Hannibal

Hannibal however was *in* the country, and to act as well as he could in order to get out of it. He therefore took his old guides, and began to explore his blind way to the other road. Theſe could probably ſee, and did as probably recognize, ſome of the high pikes that we ſhall ſoon find, upon the grand ſummit of the mountains. Towards them therefore they would naturally direct their courſe, at firſt; but would ſoon be beaten off, by the mountains of ice. The Eaſtern Drance ariſes from the Glaciere of Chermotane, which would edge cloſe upon Hannibal's left, and compel him to keep diſtantly on the right. This Glaciere is alſo a very extenſive one; runs along the line of his route, for nearly the whole of it; and muſt have given a double feeling of cold to his army, on theſe lofty and northern Alps *. Where it ends, the Glaciere de la Valpeline begins, running along in the ſame general direction with it, and united to it; but bending more inwards upon his line of march, and forming (as it were) an inland bay to that ocean of ice. This would equally preclude his advance towards the ſummit, and throw him off ſtill more to the north. But united with both theſe; continuing their long barrier of frozen ſea, againſt Hannibal's advance to the ſouth; and forming a

* Map prefixed to Sauſſure, vol. iii.; plates 1ſt and 2d prefixed to Bourrit, vol. i., being views of Chermotane; and *Explication de planches* prefixed, p. xiv.

more

more inland bay than the latter, to throw him off ſtill more to the north; is the Glaciere of De Tzeudey or Valforet, to the north and weſt of Mount Noir and Mount Velan, and a little to the ſouth of SAINT-PETER'S on the regular road [o]. Hannibal therefore muſt have been doubly obliged, to *ſearch* his unknown way, and to *feel* his dark road, over the untracked mountains and the unbeaten vallies, that range between Luttier and St. Peter's. In ſo doing, his ſteps would naturally be uncertain, and his movements embarraſſed. Accordingly Livy, who is the only hiſtorian ſupplying this portion of the narrative, *Polybius by an unpardonable negligence omitting all notice of it*; ſays that "after the almoſt impaſſable way, into "which the fraudulence of his guides led him, "came wanderings when thoſe guides were no "longer truſted; and vallies were raſhly entered "by thoſe, who only conjectured there was a "way through them [p]." Hannibal traverſed the country by conjecture, and entered the vallies by ſurmiſe; but could frequently find no paſſage through them, and was obliged to come back to their openings again. He thus marched along the Alps, bewildered and confounded by the conſequences of the Salaſſian treachery.

[o] Map prefixed to Sauſſure, vol. iii.

[p] Livy xxi. 35. "Perventum eſt per invia pleraque, et errores; quos aut ducentium fraus, aut, ubi fides iis non eſſet, temerè initæ valles a conjectantibus iter, faciebant."

How

How then can Polybius, by any extravagance of neglect, omit the mention of all this, which is ſo neceſſary to the very conſiſtency and completeneſs of his own hiſtory? He does it, by this falſifying mode of narration: "the next morning, the enemy having departed, Hannibal "joined his men who were with the cavalry and "the draught-cattle, and *advanced to the higheſt* "*aſcents of the Alps*[q]." He thus ſmothers and overlays all that hiſtory, which we ſee ſo lively and ſo active in Livy, concerning the dubious, the circuitous, the retrograde progreſſion of Hannibal, in his march from the hill of ambuſcade to the creſt of the Alps; and, was it not for Livy, would perhaps have deluded us into the very falſe belief, that no ſuch march was taken by Hannibal, and that there was little or no diſtance between the creſt and the hill. Yet all the while, as I ſhall inſtantly ſhow, Polybius unites with Livy in the number of days, which the whole march up the Alps employed; and conſequently aſſigns ſeveral of them, to this very part of it. So groſsly deceived in their judgment are thoſe criticks, who have lately begun to conſider Livy in his accounts of Hannibal, as the mere copier, and frequently the erroneous copier, of the hiſtory of Polybius! Livy, it is plain, had acceſs to

[q] Polybius iii. 53. Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ, τῶν πολεμίων χωρισθέντων, συνῆγε τοὺς ἱππεῖς καὶ τοὺς ὑποζυγίους, πορεύεται πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τὰς ἀνηκούσας τῶν Ἀλπείων.

other

other documents for his facts; and so was enabled to supply the great, the numerous deficiencies in Polybius's narration. He actually appeals to various other documents, at times; to "authors" in general, to "L. Cincius Alimentus," and to "Cœlius," in particular; the former of whom "writes he was taken prisoner by Hanni-"bal," and "heard" a circumstance "from the "lips of Hannibal himself;" while the latter "says, Hannibal passed over the Alps by a parti-"cular hill [r]."

Yet all this part of the history, *because it is not in Polybius*, has never been thought of by the former delineators of Hannibal's course. They carry him in one steady line, up the regular road of the Alps. They make no diversion from it, and can therefore form no return to it. They have no guides deceiving him, and no wanderings into which these led him; no ways taken by guess, no vallies entered at random, and no movements retrograde out of them, in order to regain the deserted road again. *Their* march over the Alps is thus any thing, but *Hannibal's*; a march without *his* seductions, without *his* deviations, without *his* recoveries.

[r] Livy xxi. 38. "Ut quidam auctores sunt," "nequaquam "inter auctores constat," "ita quidam auctores sunt;" and "L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit," "ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale;" "Cœlius per Cremonis "jugum dicit transisse."

In

In this period of Hannibal's Alpine expedition, which took up nearly half of the whole, and employed no leſs than *four* days; he moved in a line, I believe, in which no army ever moved before or ſince, one eſpecially ſo incumbered as Hannibal's was, with burdened horſes and loaded cars. All that part of the country is even ſo wild and ſolitary and ſavage, that amidſt all the written journies, which have lately been purſued with peculiar activity upon theſe Alps of Martigny, not one has been purſued in this line. We have travels in the Val de Bagnes upon one ſide, and in the regular road on the other; but have not one, in the region of deſolation between. We know not even the name of a ſingle mountain, or even the exiſtence of a ſingle brook, within it. From the mazes of this un-viſited deſert, this *Terra Auſtralis Incognita* of the Alps, this little world of Winter's own; Hannibal was no leſs than THREE whole days, in winding himſelf and his army. He then reached that regular road at St. Peter's, which he had left *five* days before at Orzieres, only about *ſeven miles* below *.

* Sauſſure iv. 281. "A une demi-lieue audeſſous de St. "Pierre, on paſſe au hameau d'Aleve;" P. 283. "A une "autre demi-lieue audeſſous d'Aleve, on paſſe à Liddes;" Ibid. "A une lieue audeſſous de Lidde, on cotoie des ro- "chers—;" P. 284. "Un quart de lieue plus loin, on paſſe "à Orſiere."

Hannibal,

Hannibal, however, had one circumſtance to comfort him in his ſtrange perplexity. The Salaſſi acted on this occaſion, more timidly than the Seduni had done before. Though they had ſuffered no grand defeat in the field, as the Seduni had; and though their capital city had not been taken, like that of the Seduni; yet ſuch was the difference between the cowardly cunning of *thoſe*, and the martial bravery of *theſe*, that they ſubmitted almoſt equally with the Seduni, to the ſpirit and the power of Hannibal. They had been previouſly taught by the experience of the Seduni, to rely upon fraud rather than force. This fraud they had proſecuted, with every degree of dexterity; yet had been baffled, in all their expectations. They therefore gave up all farther deſigns, of general oppoſition to him[1]. Some ſmall parties of them, only, kept hovering about the army. Theſe made occaſional attacks upon it; taking their opportunities of time or place, on the march, on the halt, or during the encampment, to fall ſometimes upon the rear, and ſometimes upon the van. But their aim in all, was merely to plunder the baggage. In the retrograde movements of the army, the order of march muſt

[1] Polybius iii. 53. Ολοσχερει μεν ουδενι περιπιπτων ετι συστηματι των βαρβαρων. "From this time, the barbarians never came to "attack him in *any very numerous body*" (i. 360), ολοσχερει συστηματι, with *their whole army*. How negligent is the tranſlator!

have

have been totally inverted at times, and the baggage have occaſionally followed the rear, or preceded the van. They thus, from time to time, carried off a little of the baggage [u]. But they would have carried off more, if Hannibal had not thought of an expedient to prevent it, by attaching the elephants to the baggage. Theſe indeed moved ſlowly down the ſteep and narrow ways, but were of ſingular advantage from their preſence. On whatever ſide they appeared, there the Salaſſi did not venture upon an attack. They were wholly un-acquainted with the animals; and the very ſight of them carried an aſtoniſhing terrour with it [v].

[u] Livy xxi. 35. "Inde Montani pauciores jam, et latrocinii "magis quàm belli more, occurſabant; modò in primum, "modò in noviſſimum, agmen, utcunque aut locus opportu- "nitatem daret, aut progreſſi morati-ve aliquam occaſionem "feciſſent." Polybius iii. 53. Οι μεν απο της αραβιας, οι δε απο της πρωϊοπορειας, απεστων των σκευοφορων ενια, προσπιπτοντες ευκαιρως.

[v] Polybius iii. 53. Μεγιστην δ'αυτοις παρειχετο χρειαν τα θηρια· καθ' ον γαρ τοπον υπαρχων της πορειας ταυτα, προς τουτο το μερος εκ εϊολμων οι πολεμιοι πρωσιεναι, το παραδοξον εκπληττομενοι της των φωων φαντασιας. "The elephants were chiefly ſerviceable upon theſe "occaſions. For on what ſide ſoever they advanced, the "enemy were ſtruck with terror," in Polybius, with *incredible* terror, "at the ſight" &c. (i. 361). How much fainter is the copy, than the original! Livy xxi. 35. "Elephanti, ſicut "præcipites per arctas vias magnâ morâ agebantur, ita tutum "ab hoſtibus quacunque incederent (quia inſuetis, adeundi "propiùs metus erat) agmen præbebant."

In

In this manner, did Hannibal regain his loſt road at St. Peter's. He would feel himſelf very glad, to be once more upon it after all his dangers and all his wanderings; to be again, under the *certain* guidance of his Gauls; and to be only nine known miles, from the great creſt of the mountains [w]. He would therefore march up to the creſt the next day, with redoubled vigour. This day was now the NINTH, ſince he entered the grand defile at Martigny; and, at laſt, he found himſelf happily mounted with all his army, upon the real ridge of the Alps [x].

[w] Bourrit iii. 286. "Bourg de Saint-Pierre, qui eſt à trois "lieues plus bas," &c.

[x] Polybius iii. 53. Ἐννάλιος δὲ διανύσας εἰς τὰς ὑπερβολάς. Livy xxi. 35. "Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum eſt." Polybius thus concurs with Livy, in aſſigning *nine* days to the march up the Alps; and ſo gives *four* to that part of it, which reaches from Luttier to the top. Hannibal halted for the *ſecond* day; μίαν ἐπιμείνας ἡμέραν, αὐθις ὥρμα. On the *fourth*, he marched away with his new guides; ἤδη δὲ τέταρτος ὢν, αὐθις εἰς κινδύνους ἵστητο μείζονας. The guides led him, that day and the *fifth*; προπορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δυο ἡμέρας. There remain therefore the *ſixth*, the *ſeventh*, the *eighth*, and the *ninth*, to be accounted for by Polybius; even according to his own enumeration. And theſe are all thrown together in an account, that omits every circumſtance recorded by Livy, deſcriptive of the devious Alps into which Hannibal had been ſeduced; that omits indeed every circumſtance whatever, except only the general and ſummary one, of his gaining the top of the Alps.

Let me here ſubjoin one obſervation upon Mr. Moore's Travels over theſe Alps, in order to prevent a miſtake in

others, into which I had nearly been led myſelf. From Chamouni he goes, " after various windings on a very rugged " road,—*into a hollow* of the moſt diſmal appearance—. " Having traverſed this, we continued our journey, ſome- " times aſcending, then deſcending into *other vallies whoſe* " *names I have forgot.* We had a long continued aſcent over " MONT NOIR, a very high hill—. We came *at length* to the " paſs, which ſeparates the king of Sardinia's country, from " the little republic called the Pays de Vallais. Acroſs this " there is an old thick wall, and a gate—. When you have " paſſed through this long defile, the road runs along the ſide " of a high and ſteep mountain.—The road led us *at length* to " the ſummit. Having traverſed this, and deſcended a little " on the other ſide, the Lower Vallais opened to our view.— " The diſtance from this point to MARTIGNY, which ſtands " near the bottom of this mountain, is about ſix miles" (i. 241-242). In this vague way of writing, does the author delineate his travels here. His courſe is all a bird's flight. He gives us only one local name, to mark his route from Chamouni to Martigny; and, by a ſtrange fatality, *that one is wrong.* The mention of MONT NOIR I conſidered as my great landmark, for tracing the line of his movements. I accordingly took the large map, prefixed to the 3d volume of Sauſſure. There I knew I ſhould find *Mount Noir* near to St. Peter's, on the road from Martigny to the top of the Alps. I thence followed this *airy* traveller, through the *clouds* that ſurround his courſe, down the Alps to St. Branchier, " about *ſix* " miles" from Martigny " near the bottom of the mountain." In this explanation of his route I ſhould have reſted, if I had not been accidentally induced to conſider the point with more attention. I then found, that he was deceiving me by a groſs miſnomer. His *Mont Noir* ſhould have been denominated LA TETE NOIRE. His memory has thus confounded two very diſtant hills. He comes to Chamouni from Geneva, along the Arve, and by Bonneville, Cluſe, Sallenche (p. 201-209). He leaves it " by aſcending the mountains, at the end " oppoſite to that—by which he had entered" (p. 240). He

would

would have ſaid, if he had been writing *travels upon earth*, that he ſtill kept along the line of the *Arve* towards its *ſource*, and that he paſſed through *Argentiere* to *Valorſin*. This is the laſt village of Savoy. *Then* comes "the paſs, which ſepa-"rates the king of Sardinia's country from---the Pays de Val-"lais," and "acroſs which there is an old thick wall and a "gate." That grand mountain, which is called *La Tete Noire*, ſucceeds. You next paſs by *Finio*, the firſt village in the Vallais. You reach the village of *Trient* in a bottom. You mount the hill beyond it, called *La Forcla* or *Forclaz ſur Martigny*; and, from a point a little below the ſummit on the other ſide, you have a proſpect of all the Lower Vallais (ſee Sauſſure's Map, Bourrit iii. 217-226, and Sketch 82-86). Such is the region of Mr. Moore's travels, when it is enlarged from his bird's-eye delineation, and adapted to the opticks of a man! Such are his travels, I ſhould rather ſay, when *they* are purged of his indiſtinctneſs and his miſnomer, and when *he* is brought down from the moon again!

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

— I. —

I HAVE now conducted Hannibal and his Carthaginians, up to the ſummit of thoſe mountains, which are the moſt diſtinguiſhed in all the old world, and only yield in grandeur and elevation to the Andes of America; that region of nature, in which the mountains and the rivers are upon a ſcale of magnificence, much ſuperiour to the rivers and mountains of our own. But on what part of *our* Andes are they mounted at preſent? Are they on Mount Simplon? Are they on Mount St. Gothard? Two roads lead into Italy, over theſe two ſummits; *this* into the weſtern part of the Milaneſe, *that* into the eaſtern; *this* too being the paſs, by which the poſts of Italy conſtantly go, and on which it is very rare for them to be ſtopped by the weather[a]. But both theſe

[a] Sketch 82 and 50, Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through Italy, 1787, p. 1, 25-26, Bourrit i. 214-221, ii. 49-60. The Simplon is called *St. Plomb*, by Sauſſure iv. 245. Simler 50 names

theſe are too eaſterly, for our preſent purpoſe. TURIN, as I have formerly obſerved, is the primary object of Hannibal's march, the goal to which he is directing his courſe, and the point at which hiſtory confeſſedly places him, on his deſcent from the Alps. To Turin, therefore, muſt his preſent route over the Alps be carrying him. A road accordingly paſſed formerly from Octodurus, acroſs the PENNINE ALPS [b], into Piedmont; and a road equally paſſes at preſent from Martigny, over the GREAT SAINT-BERNARD, into the ſame country [c]. This is conſidered of ſo much importance to the ſtates of the Vallais, that they put themſelves to a large expence, in keeping it open for the carriage of goods, and maintaining it in excellent order, nearly two thirds of the way up the aſcent to the Great St. Bernard, even as far as St. Peter's [d]. Over the Great St. Bernard

names it "Montem *Sempronium*, quem quidam *Scipionis Mon-* "*tem* vocant." But in 255 Simler ſays: "a Valleſianis *Sim-* "*peler*, ab Italis *Sempiano* vel *Sempronio* vocatur, Latinè *Sem-* "*pronii*, aut, ut alii volunt, *Scipionis*, mons."

[b] I write theſe Alps, not *Penine*, but *Pennine*. The *earlier* Romans wrote and pronounced the word, in *that* faſhion; the *later*, in *this*: and from *theſe* the French and the Engliſh have equally learned, to pronounce and write it *Pennine*. The varying mode of the Romans we ſhall ſoon ſee.

[c] Sketch 82, Gentleman's Guide i, 2, 24, Bourrit i. 28, 31.

[d] Sauſſure iv. 244-245. But he here fixes the "Bourg de "St. Pierre—preſque à la moitié de la hauteur de cette mon-

nard alſo, did the tradition of the antient Romans themſelves continue for ages, to bring the Carthaginians into Italy.

We have already ſeen Pompey, in an aſpiring imitation of Hannibal's conduct, taking the line of the latter's march from Spain into Italy, only reverſing it into a route from Italy into Spain, and croſſing the Alps particularly in this very courſe, "about the ſprings of the Rhone and of "the Po." Not long afterwards, we ſee the Romans repeatedly conducting their armies over the Alps, by the ſame route; which is then pointed out to *our* obſervance for the *firſt* time, by its appropriate appellation of the PENINE WAY. In the grand ſtruggle for ſovereignty, between Otho and Vitellius; Cæcina, the partiſan of Vitellius, and the commandant of the German army, "remained a few days among the Hel-"vetii" of Switzerland, ſays Tacitus, "preparing to paſs the Alps [c]." In this interval he received intelligence, that a body of troops upon the Po had revolted from Otho, and brought over with them Milan the capital, and Novara a town,

"tagne;" when from his own pages 270, 281, 283, 284, 286, and Bourrit iii. 286, i. 31, to St. Peter's is as ſixteen to nine in the miles of aſcent.

[c] Hiſt. i. 70. "Cæcina, paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, "dum ſententiæ Vitellii certior fieret, ſimul tranſitum Alpium "parans."

of

of the Milaneſe, with the towns of Ivrea and Vercelli in Piedmont [f]. He therefore ſent ſome detachments over the Alps, to ſupport them; and followed them himſelf ſoon afterwards with a large body of men, which (as Tacitus adds) he carried over the Alps "by the Penine way [g]." In the progreſs of the contention, we find Otho reſolving to go by ſea into the ſouth of France, "becauſe the *Penine* and the Cottian *Alps*, and "*the other paſſes into Gaule*," that of the Graian Alps or Little St. Bernard, and that of the Maritime through the town of Nice, "were blocked "up by the forces of Vitellius [h]." But in that other conteſt for the empire, in which Vitellius ſuffered a return of his own rebellion upon himſelf, and found Veſpaſian unwittingly avenging the depoſition and death of Otho; "the 6th and "8th conquering legions, the 21ſt of Vitellius's, "and the 2d of the new-raiſed legions, are "marched in the main over the *Penine* and the

[f] Hiſt. i. 70. "Lætum ex Italiâ nuntium accipit, Alam Syl-"lanam, circa Padum agentem, ſacramento Vitellii acceſſiſſe;" and, "ut donum aliquod novo principi, firmiſſima Tranſpadanæ "regionis municipia, Mediolanum ac Novariam, et Eporæ-"diam ac Vercellas, adjunxêre."

[g] Hiſt. i. 70. "Ipſe,---Penino ſubſignanum militem itinere, "et grave legionum agmen, hybernis adhuc Alpibus tra-"duxit."

[h] Hiſt. i. 87. "Otho,---quando Peninæ Cottiæque Alpes, et "ceteri Galliarum aditus, Vitellianis exercitibus claudeban-"tur, Narbonenſem Galliam aggredi ſtatuit."

" Cottian *Alps*, and in part over the Graian [i]." We have thus all the three paſſes by Mount Genévre, Little St. Bernard, and Great St. Bernard, here mentioned together. We have alſo the laſt noticed with the firſt, in a previous period of the hiſtory, and with a deſcriptive circumſtance that marks it out to us the more diſtinctly. When Vitellius was firſt puſhing for that royalty of Rome, which had now become expoſed to the bold hand of every powerful general among the armies; " he appointed two chief commandants, " and two grand routes, for the war. Fabius " Valens was to draw over Gaule, or, if it could " not be drawn over, to ravage it; and then, by " the Cottian Alps" or mount Genévre, " to " break into Italy." But Cæcina, with his army from Germany, " was to go by *a nearer way*, and " deſcend upon Italy from the *Penine Hills* [k]."

We here ſee the armies of Rome marching acroſs the Pennine Alps, at a very early period of their *imperial* hiſtory. *Then* the Pennine way was

[i] Hiſt. iv. 68. " Legiones Victrices Sexta et Octava, Vitel- " lianarum Una-et-Viceſima, e recens conſcriptis Secunda, " Peninis Coctianiſque [Cottianiſque] Alpibus, pars Monte " Graio, traducuntur."

[k] Hiſt. i. 61. " Vitellius duos duces, duo itinera, bello deſ- " tinavit. Fabius Valens allicere, vel ſi abnuerent, vaſtare, " Gallias; et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam irrumpere: Cæcina, " propiore tranſitu, Peninis jugis degredi, juſſus."

no longer the only paſs acroſs the Alps, out of France, Switzerland, or Germany. Yet it ſtill was, as it ſtill is, the grand channel of communication between the weſt of Germany, the weſt of Switzerland, the Vallais, and Lombardy. The road over the Graian Alps, or Little St. Bernard, had in part ſuperſeded its uſe for France; and that over Mount Genévre, or the Cottian Alps, appears to have done ſo ſtill more; *this* appearing in the movements above, to be much more practiſed by the armies of Rome than *that*, and being expreſsly declared by Marcellinus, to be "the middle way" between the Graian and Maritime Alps, "and more celebrated" than either [1]. We have accordingly ſeen a formed road of the Romans, carried over Mount Genévre and Little St. Bernard from France into Italy. Nor are we without ſuch an uſeful guide, acroſs the preſent Alps; having one, that takes its courſe from Germany, and runs "from Milan over the PENINE "ALPS to Mentz." But let us do by this as we did by the others, and invert its order to form it for our purpoſe. It then has theſe ſtages: "Oc-"todurum, m. p. - - - - - -," Martigny; "SUM-"MUM PENINUM, m. p. XXV" [Peutinger's Tables, "IN SUMMO PENNINO XIII"], GREAT SAINT-BERNARD; "*Auguſtam Prætoriam*, m. p. XXV" [Tables,

[1] Marcellinus xv. c. 10. p. 109. "Licet hæc, quam diximus "viam, media ſit,---magiſque celebris."

"Auguſta

" Auguſta Prætoria xxviii"], *Aoſta* in Piedmont; " *Vitricium*, m. p. xxv [Vtricio xxi]," *Verrex* in Piedmont; " *Eporædiam*, m. p. xxi [Eporædia " xxxiii]," *Ivrea* in Piedmont; " *Vercellas*, m. p. " xxxiii [Vergellis xiii]," *Vercelli* in Piedmont; " *Novariam*, m. p. xvi," *Novara* in the Milaneſe; and " *Mediolano*, m. p. xxxiii," *Milan* [m].

Such clear evidence have we, for this Pennine way of the Romans over the Alps, and for Hannibal's march by it to the top of Great St. Bernard! By that way did he enter the mountains, and at this point did he reach the ſummit. Nor let the real diſtance, or the diſtance noted in the Roman road above, when either is compared with the time, taken by Hannibal in aſcending the Alps; confound us by their contradictorineſs. The diſtance in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is only twenty-five miles from " Octodurus" to " Sum- " mum Peninum;" and, in the Tables of Peutinger, only thirteen. It was formerly reckoned by the natives to be twenty-five, though by *ſome* twenty-eight [n]. It appears at preſent, to be exactly or nearly twenty-ſix from the Octodurus of

[m] Bertius ii. ſecond p. 22, and ſecond ſegment of Peutinger's Tables. Placide, in his recent map of Savoy, ſtill denominates theſe mountains " Alpes Pennines ou de Valais."

[n] Simler 85, ſpeaking of the diſtance in the Itinerary, ſays; " quæ diſtantia hodie quoque eadem ferè traditur, niſi quòd " *quidam* ad ſummum Pœnini plus iii. millibus P. numerant."

Cæſar,

Cæſar, or twenty-five only from the entrance into the Alps [o]. The coincidence is ſufficiently exact for our purpoſe. Yet how can we reconcile ſuch a ſhort interval of way as this, upon any ſcale of eſtimation, with the nine days ſpent by Hannibal in marching it, and with his eight days actual march along it? He entered the Alps, and took the capital of the Seduni; halted the next day; and went on the third, up to the bounding line of the Seduni and Salaſſi. So far, therefore, he had penetrated only about nine miles, into the body of the Alps. But he was afterwards ſix days more, in reaching the grand ſummit of the moun-

[o] Let me here bring together, what I have ſeparately noticed before; for the ſtronger conviction of my reader. From the Bourg of Martigny, the Octodurus of Cæſar and the Romans, to the entrance of the Alps, is "un quart-d'heure," or three quarters of a mile (Sauſſure iv. 290, and a note in vol. ii. chap. ii. ſect. 3); from the entrance to St. Branchier, "deux "lieues," or ſix miles (Bourrit i. 31); from St. Branchier to Orzieres, "une grande lieue," or three good miles (Sauſſure iv. 286); from Orzieres to Lidde, "une lieue" and "un "quart de lieue," or nearly four miles (Sauſſure iv. 283-284); to Aleve, "une demi-lieue," or one mile and a half (Sauſſure iv. 283); to St. Peter's, "une demi-lieue," or one mile and a half more (Sauſſure iv. 281); and to St. Bernard, "trois "lieues," or nine miles (Bourrit iii. 286). Simler indeed, p. 81, ſtates St. Branchier to be *four French leagues* from St. Bernard, and St. Peter's only *two*. But in p. 82 he fixes St. Branchier, at *twenty miles* from St. Bernard. His contradictorineſs deſtroys his authority, and St. Branchier is only nineteen.

tains. In two of theſe, we have ſeen him advance about four-and-twenty miles to Luttier; and, in the four others, about eight or nine to Great St. Bernard. We can too well account, therefore, for the ſupernumerary miles in his march, from the circuitous road along which he was led at one time; and from the uncertain, embaraſſed, retrograde movements, which he was obliged to make at another. When he ſpent no leſs than four days, in marching eight or nine miles; we cannot wonder a moment at his ſpending nine, in mounting only twenty-five [p].

Having thus brought him to Great St. Bernard, let us take a view of that ground upon it, which would be a lofty watch-tower to half of Europe, if the weakneſs of human opticks did not circumſcribe our orbit of viſion within narrow bounds.

[p] Nor let any objection be raiſed againſt this by that captious kind of reaſoning, which creates difficulties when it can no longer produce arguments, and loves to puzzle becauſe it is not able to perſuade; from the authority of a ſentence in Polybius, that makes the paſſage over the Alps to be "about "1200 ſtadia" or 150 miles. His authority would have great weight, as he had travelled the very courſe over the Alps, by which Hannibal had or ought to have marched. But, in that account of the miles acroſs the Alps, he takes in *the whole length of the road* from the *Rhone* to the *Po*: going firſt επι τας πηγας, εως προς την αναβολην των Αλπεων, and then adding; λοιπαι δε αι των Αλπεων υπερβολαι, περι χιλιας διακοσιας, ας υπερβαλλων ημιολιαν ηξειν εις τα περι τον Παδον πεδια τας Ιταλιας (iii. 39).

The nature of this ground is intimately and essentially connected, with the nature of our present inquiry.

— II. —

THE farthest part of the passage over this dividing mountain, this line of lofty separation between Italy and the continent of Europe, this crest of the mighty mound, with which Nature had guarded her Paradise of Sweets, and her Nursery of Heroes, from the world[q]; is a small plain, now denominated, as it must long have been called, THE PLAIN OF JUPITER, from a temple which stood there in the time of the Romans[r]. Even Livy himself notices "that statue of a God, "which was consecrated on the very top of the "Alps, and called PENINUS by the moun-"taineers[s]." But was *this* one more of the many Divinities, which the ignorance of Heathenism, and the prevalence of its fears, very naturally

[q] To my surprize I find this sentiment, since I wrote it, occurring in Herodian; who in ii. p. 90, Ruddiman, 1724, says the Alps "surround and project before Italy in the form "of a wall," εν τειχους σχηματι περικειται και προβεβληται Ιταλιας, "nature even adding this to the other happiness of the Italians," και τουτο μετα της αλλης ευδαιμονιας παρασχουσης της φυσεως Ιταλιωταις, "as a fence inviolable," ερυμα αρρηκτον τε.

[r] Saussure iv. 225.

[s] Livy xxi. 38. "Ab eo quem, in summo sacratum ver-"tice, Peninum montani appellant."

continued

continued to fabricate for itſelf? Or was the God Peninus the very ſame in fact with Jupiter, only diſcriminated by a different appellation from him? He was clearly the ſame. Peninus was merely the Jupiter of the mountains, and Jupiter was only the Peninus of the plains; *this* worſhipped by the natives, under their own appellation of Peninus or the Highland God; and *that* adored by the Romans, under their own and more comprehenſive title of Jupiter, Jou Pater, or Father Jove. That ſuch a diſtinction ſhould ever have been made in general, by the wildling abſurdity of the human underſtanding; would be incredible in itſelf, if we had not full evidence of it in thoſe records of ſhame againſt our race, the Heavenly Hiſtory of it in the Jewiſh Scriptures. There we find, that "the ſervants of the King "of Syria ſaid unto him," concerning the Jehovah of the Jews; "Their Gods are *Gods of the* "*Hills*, therefore they were ſtronger than we; "but let us fight againſt them in the *Plain*, and "ſurely we ſhall be ſtronger than they[t]." We again find the folly at a later period, and upon the creſt of the Alps; in the worſhip of Jupiter, as Peninus or the God of the Hills. The preſent denomination of the plain, proves the temple to have been conſecrated to Jupiter. The whole mountain alſo appears to have ſhared with the

[t] See I. Kings xx. 23.

plain,

plain, in this name derived from the temple; the title, which it bore familiarly among the Romans, being that of *Mons Jovis* or the Hill of Jupiter. It is ſo called expreſsly by a writer in Latin, even within our own country, and even ſo early as the ſeventh century [u]. But this name adhered to the mountain, for ages afterward; in the corruptions, that have vitiated the antient Latin into the modern French, the deſignation of *Mons Jovis* being changed only into that of *Mont Joux*, which it bore familiarly before St. Bernard impoſed his name upon it [v]. The ruins of this temple remain at preſent, and have furniſhed many monuments of its antiquity. Theſe have been generally of the votive kind, offered up in devout acknowledgment of preſervation from the dangers of the journey, and engraved upon plates of braſs. In this form, no doubt, they were pinned up againſt the walls of the temple within; juſt as plates, commemorative of the dead, are ſometimes pinned in our churches. But the great number of them concurs, with what I have repeatedly obſerved before; and ſhows this paſs over the Alps, to have been much frequented [w].

[u] Nennius c. xxiii. "Super verticem Montis Jovis."

[v] Sauſſure iv. 226. Simler 243. "Montis Jovem plerique "nominant, quem hodie S. Bernardi Majoris nominamus; ſic "Otto Friſingenſis, Guntherus in ſuo Ligurino, multique "alii, hoc nomine uſi ſunt."

[w] Sauſſure iv. 226-227.

There

There are three inſcriptions too, that have been found here, and are peculiarly important. One of them is to Peninus, another to Jupiter, a third to Jupiter and Peninus combined together; and all three carry a ſtrict relation to Hannibal, who became a votary, and made an oblation in the temple, of this very God.

" On the mountain of Great St. Bernard," writes Guichenon in his Genealogical Hiſtory of the Houſe of Savoy, " is a pillar dedicated for-" merly to the God Peninus, on which was his " ſtatue [of bronze[x]], in the figure of a Young " Man ſtanding naked, the right hand raiſed up, " and the left held down, with this inſcription on " a pedeſtal that ſerved as an altar."

LVCIVS LVCILIVS
DEO PENINO
OPTIMO
MAXIMO
DONUM DEDIT.[y]

Guichenon

[x] Gentleman's Guide p. 25. In " the remains of a Roman " temple—ſome *bronze* ſtatues have been found."

[y] Guichenon tom. i. liv. i. ch. 4. " Sur la montagne du " Grand St. Bernard, eſt une colomne dediée autrefois au Dieu " Peninus, ſur la quelle il y avoit ſa ſtatue, ſous la figure d'un " Jeune Homme nud debout, la maine droite elevée, et la " gauche baiſsée, avec une inſcription au pied d'eſtal, ſervant " d'autel."

Guichenon has alſo favoured us with a view of this Deity, from De Viot an antient biographer of St. Bernard; as Dom Martin, in his Religion of the Gauls, has obliged us with it again; and I have ſurveyed it by reflexion from both, at third hand. In this mirrour formed by the pencil and the graver, the God appears, as a Roman inſcription naturally makes us expect to find him, half Alpine and half Roman. The figure itſelf is completely Alpine, a tall man young in age, good-humoured in countenance, having a buſhy head of hair, and ſtanding erect in the fulleſt nakedneſs of a ſavage. The buſhy head of hair I have noted before, to be characteriſtick equally of Hannibal's and of the preſent mountaineers; but the nakedneſs muſt have been given to the God at ſome earlier period, when the votaries went equally naked, and, from fear of innovation in that ſolemneſt of all acts to man, the worſhip of GOD, was never altered afterwards in *him*, though it was in his votaries. Theſe coming

" d'autel." Another French work, " La Religion des Gaulois " tirée des plus pures ſources de l'antiquité, par le R. P. Dom " * * * [Martin] Religieux Benedictin de la Congregation de " S. Maur, ouvrage enrichi de figures en taille-douce, à Paris, " 1727," in two volumes quarto, cites this paſſage from Guichenon; but leaves out the words " nud," and " au pied d' " eſtal, ſervant d'autel;" tom. i. liv. ii. chap. xxix. p. 402. The author did not underſtand the laſt, and the printer omitted the firſt.

originally, like all other nations, from the warm climates of the Eaſt, in their tendencies to ſavageneſs had gone naked, not wanting clothes for warmth, and not wearing them for decency; had therefore exhibited the material repreſentation of God, juſt as they exhibited themſelves; but did not change the mode in him, when they were compelled by cold to change it in themſelves; and ſo brought with them to the Alps, both their antient ſtatue of God, ſtill appearing as a naked man, and their antient appellation of JEHOVAH for him, ſtill remaining in their name of JOVE[z]. This degraded Jehovah of Barbarians

[z] Gen. xxii. 14. "And Abraham called the name of that "place *Jehovah*-jireh." This ſhows the name of Jehovah, to be the popular name of GOD from all antiquity; and the ſound of it, preſerved in the Latin and the Celtick to this day, confirms the evidence. We have "*Jau*, Jupiter, Gallick; "*Jaun*, Dieu, en Baſque; *Jave*, Jupiter, en Etruſque; *Jon*, "Dieu, Seigneur, Ba.; *Ju*, Dieu, G.; *Jou*, Jupiter, G. B.; "*Jeu* dans la langue de Cornouaille, Jupiter" (Bullet iii. 49): "*Jevam*, Jupiter" (Borlaſe), "*Jowyn*, Jupiter" (Pryce); "*Jau*, *Jou*, Jupiter, Jove," and "*Jon*, the Lord Jehovah" (Richards). "*Ju-piter* or *Jovis* appear plainly to have no root in the Latin, from the difficulty which the Romans themſelves had to find a Latin etymon for it; the only one that Cicero could think of, being too ridiculous for refutation, *Juvans Pater*. It is therefore derived with the Celtick, from the original name of God in the firſt and univerſal language of the world. See alſo Ant. Un. Hiſt. xvii. 275, for the name *Jehovah* pronounced by the earlieſt Heathens, *Jove*, *Juve*, *Jevo*, *Jeuo*, and *Jao*.

ſtretches

ſtretches out his right hand, with the palm expanded; and reſts the back of his left, with the palm only half-expanded, upon his hip. But he ſtands upon a pillar, which ſhows itſelf to be equally Roman with the inſcription upon it; and, from the inſcription, to have been actually given by the Roman who inſcribed it; having a capital and a baſe, feſtoons of carved work tracing round it under the capital, and a ſmall pedeſtal below. This pedeſtal reſts upon an oblong ſquare of ſtone, which has a capital, a pediment, and a baſe, is modelled exactly like an altar, and therefore (as Guichenon juſtly intimates) muſt have ſerved actually for one; the God and his pillar being diſmounted, on particular occaſions, from their elevation upon the altar, the altar being then placed before the pillar, and ſacrifices being then offered upon it to the God. Originally however Peninus ſtood upon a pillar and before an altar, no doubt, that were more rude and more Alpine than theſe.

"After the emperour Auguſtus had reduced "the Salaſſi," adds Guichenon with much erroneouſneſs in his narrative, "the ſtatue of the God "Peninus was pulled down, and that of Jupiter "was put in its place[a];" when he himſelf has

[a] Guichenon tom. i. liv. i. chap. iv. "Après que l'empereur "Auguſte eut vaincu les Salaſſiens, on abbatit la ſtatuë de ce "Dieu Peninus, et on mit en ſa place celle de Jupiter."

given us a delineation of the former, and when the preſervation of it to our own times, uniting with the Roman pillar and the Roman inſcription, ſhows it to have been worſhipped equally *after* the Romans came, as *before*. It was worſhipped undoubtedly, from the time of Livy who firſt mentions it, to that memorable period in the human hiſtory, when the Gods of Heathen idolatry, un-ſeated from their ſhrines or diſ-mounted from their pillars, became only objects of theological amazement to the new-formed world. Accordingly Servius, the firſt and perhaps beſt commentator upon Virgil, aſſures us in the middle of the fourth century; that the worſhip of this Deity was continued, even in his own time [b]. Peninus therefore continued under the Romans, the Divine Patron of theſe mountains; but received a partner in that patronage, from the hands of the Romans. A new Peninus was exhibited on a new ſtatue, with "the thunder in his left "hand, his right hand lifted up, and his head "encircled by a crown; having a beard and "hair, wearing a robe, and carrying it knotted "*à l'antique* on the ſhoulder [c]." The Roman Peninus is ſo far like the Alpine, as to be almoſt

[b] "Ibi colitur" &c. The reader will ſee the whole paſſage ſoon, in the text.

[c] Guichenon i. i. 4. "Le foudre en ſa main gauche, et la "main droite levée, la teſte couronnée, ayant barbe et cheveux, "et la robe nouée ſur l'epaule gauche à l'antique."

naked;

naked; to have only a robe ſkirting acroſs his middle, and faſtened upon one ſhoulder; to ſtretch out his right hand with the palm expanded, and to ſtand upon a round pillar. But he is ſo far different, as to graſp the forked thunderbolt in his left hand, to have a large beard upon what were before

As ſmooth as Hebe's his un-razored lips [d],

to have all the aſpect of reverend agedneſs in his looks, to wear a radial crown upon his head [e], and to ſtand upon a pillar that has all the members of elegant architecture in it, a capital, a baſe, a pedeſtal. This compounded ſtatue, a very fine one, and of bronze, was carefully preſerved for a long time in a monaſtery near this plain, was there delineated by De Viot, but has now vaniſhed [f]; the original object of worſhip, after

[d] Milton's Comus. This is in fact what Juvenal has ſuggeſted in joke, "Jove nondum barbato."

[e] Dom Martin i. ii. viii. p. 298, citing the words of Guichenon, very properly in ſenſe, but not very fairly in probity, interpolates them thus, "la teſte couronnée *d'une couronne radiale.*"

[f] Martin ibid. ibid. "Au Monaſtere de Mont Joux en Savoye, on a conſervé pendant long-tems une fort belle ſtatuë de Jupiter.—L'auteur de la vie de St. Bernard de Menton, et Guichenon, en ont donné la figure." Guichenon i. i. 4. "Cette ſtatuë d'Jupiter ne ce voit plus." Gentleman's Guide 25.

many centuries of amazement at it, becoming the object of a new but innocent kind of idolatry, and antiquaries purloining even Gods to gratify it. Yet the Roman inscription, pillar, and pedestal are still safe[g]; the first of which appropriates all, and runs in this form.

IOVI O. M.
GENIO LOCI
FORTVNAE
REDVCI
TERENTIVS
VARRO
DEDIC.[h]

Terentius Varro the Roman conquerour of the country, with the spirit incident to a Conquerour and a Roman, instantly began some grand innovations upon the Alpine worship, imposed the new name of Jupiter upon the God Peninus, formed a new statue and a new pillar for him, modelled *that* with all the attributes of a Roman Jupiter, and inscribed *this* expressly to him as Jupiter. But the pillar, being earlier than Lucilius's before, is less ornamented than his; having no festoons of carving around it, and only a plain pedestal to it. In this manner was the

[g] Guichenon i. i. 4. "Il ne reste, que la colomne, et le "pied d'estal.

[h] Guichenon i. i. 4.

Roman

Roman Jupiter and the Alpine Peninus, equally worſhipped on the hill of Great St. Bernard; each ſtanding on his Roman pillar within the temple, *this* in more than the ſimplicity and ſavageneſs of Alpine manners, and *that* in much of the pomp and decorations of Roman dignity. There both the ſtatues were found afterwards, and ſo preſerved to be delineated for the inſpection of the preſent age. There they continued to engage in a kind of conteſt, for pre-eminence of worſhip; the natives aſſuredly adhering to the original Jove of their mountains; and the Romans attaching themſelves to the Jove, who had enabled them to reduce thoſe mountains, and to plant their new Jupiter by the ſide of the old.

In this ſtrange battle of national Gods, which was common to all the Heathen regions of the globe; each region preſuming its own Jupiter, as more familiar to its mind, as more the object of its fond wiſhes and prayers, to be alſo better than the Jupiter of another country and another name; Lucilius, with a generoſity peculiar perhaps to himſelf, condeſcended to the prejudices of theſe Alpine Highlanders, profeſſed himſelf a votary of the conquered Jupiter of the hills, and dedicated to him a pillar ſuperiour in beauty to the Roman Jupiter's,

Victrix cauſa Deis placuit, ſed victa Catoni.

When however Terentius Varro erected his ſtatue and his pillar to Jupiter, in the temple and by the ſide of Peninus; he ſhowed an apprehenſion of offending Peninus, in the very act of oppoſing him. From that vindictive jealouſy, which the Heathens made the characteriſtick of all their Deities; thus acting like Homer, in raiſing their men into Gods and reducing their Gods into men; he might well be apprehenſive. He therefore adopted a plan of comprehenſion, which, from a ſimilar principle in others, was not uncommon among the Heathens. He dedicated his ſtatue ſolely and ſingly to Jupiter; but inſcribed his pillar to "Jupiter," and "to the "Genius of the Place," and to "Fortune," all together. He thus included Peninus, as the Tutelary Spirit of the Mountains; in the very dedication of a ſtatue, that was calculated to ſuperſede his. Another Roman interpoſed afterwards, in the ſame dread of offending any on the ſcale of Divinity; to unite the contending votaries in a bond of amity, to raiſe "the Genius of the "Place" into his original ſublimity of rank as a Jupiter, and to addreſs the oppoſed Deities under the combined appellation of Jupiter Peninus. An inſcription of the kind has been recently diſcovered, among the ruins of the temple; and runs thus,

IOVI

IOVI POENINO
Q. SILIUS PEREN
NIS TABELL. COLON
SEQUANOR
V. S. L. M.[1]

So plainly was Peninus and Jupiter the ſame Deity, diſguiſed only by different appellations, and exhibited only in different forms! So plainly too have we brought Hannibal up a paſs in the Alps, that was peculiarly called the Pennine Alps, that was much frequented by the Romans, by the natives before them, and had a temple for both on the very ridge, to the diſguiſed Jehovah of the Alps! But in order to clear up ſome difficulties, that have been formed by the blundering hand of inaccuracy; to unravel ſome confuſion that has been made, between Great and Little St. Bernard; and to ſettle this worſhip of Peninus, as the original excluſive property of Great St. Bernard; let me notice what is ſaid by two authors, concerning it.

"At another part of the Alps," writes Dom Martin about *Little* St. Bernard, "was a pillar," which was equally "denominated the Column of "Jupiter, and has given the name of *Colonne-* "*Joux*" or the Pillar of Jove, "to the moun-

[1] Sauſſure iv. 227.

"tain on which it was [k]," "The ſame author," adds Dom Martin in another place concerning Guichenon, "ſpeaking a little lower of that "pillar, of which I have ſpoken" as on *Great* St. Bernard; "has theſe words following: "" On "" the mountain of *Little* St. Bernard, which is "" by the vale of Aoſta, is a pillar of marble four-"" teen feet in height, alſo dedicated formerly to "" the God Peninus, on which was a Carbuncle, "" that is denominated the *eye* of *Peninus* [l]."" "On this column," as Martin ſubjoins, "was a "Carbuncle, which is denominated the *eye* of "*Jupiter*: ſo it is that Viot," the biographer of St. Bernard, "ſpeaks: Guichenon maintains, "that this Carbuncle paſſed for the *eye* of the "God *Peninus* [m]." The God Peninus, we ſee,

[k] Martin i. ii. viii. p. 298. "Dans une autre endroit des "Alpes, il y avoit une colonne appellée Columna Jovis, qui a "donné à la montagne où elle etoit le nom de Colonne Joux."

[l] Martin ibid. "Ce même auteur, parlant un peu plus "bas de la colonne, dont nous avons parlé—, dit les paroles "ſuivantes: "" Sur la montagne du petit St. Bernard, qui eſt "" de la Val-d'-Aouſte, eſt une colonne de marbre de la hau-"" teur de quatorze pieds, dediée auſſi autrefois au Dieu Peni-"" nus, ſur laquelle il y avoit un Eſcarboucle, que l'on appel-"" loit l'œil de Peninus."" Paul Jovius is alſo ſaid by Simler 241, to mention this column; but this is a miſtake in Simler. See P. Jovius tom. i. 300, for his deſcription of the Alps; and even Simler himſelf 241-242, for his tranſcript of Jovius.

[m] Martin i. ii. viii. p. 298. "Sur cette colonne etoit Eſcar-"boucle, qu'on appelloit l'œil de Jupiter." A note adds: "c'eſt ainſi que parle Viot; Guichenon pretend, que cette "Eſcarboucle paſſoit pour l'œil du Dieu Penin."

was

was worſhipped equally upon Little as on Great St. Bernard, ſtanding equally upon a pillar at both, and ranking as the common Genius or Jupiter of both. But the worſhip muſt have been derived with the name, from the Pennine to the Graian Alps; *Penine* being noticed by a Livy, as the appropriated appellation of Great St. Bernard; and the worſhip of the God Peninus being equally noticed by him, as the equally appropriated worſhip of the inhabitants of Great St. Bernard; while Little St. Bernard never had the appellation at all, and therefore could only have the worſhip derivatively. The natives of *theſe* hills, in that uncertainty about the true God, which their Heathen blindneſs naturally generated; and in that deſire of finding him among the Gods of their neighbours, which both produced; *borrowed* their Deity from the inhabitants of *thoſe*, and worſhipped him in the ſame manner with them. The Graian Alps were humble enough to imitate the Pennine, to adopt their God, and to copy their worſhip. Such was the confeſſed ſubordination of the Graian, ſuch the acknowledged ſupremacy of the Pennine, in the earlieſt ages!

But this was not done before the Romans came, and opened the Graian Alps as the Pennine had been opened before. Then the Romans of Little St. Bernard put the naturalized Deity Peninus, upon

upon a pillar of marble fourteen feet in height, which has been preſerved equally with the two pillars on Great St. Bernard, and is more circumſtantially deſcribed than they. But it has met with no kind hand to give us a delineation of it, as the others have; Guichenon, who deſcribes it, giving us no view of it becauſe it had no inſcription. The *ſtatue* bore the inſcription; and *this* periſhed with *that*, even before De Viot could come to delineate and deſcribe it. He could only collect the remaining traditions; and theſe mentioned a very extraordinary circumſtance, in the perſonal exhibition of this God.

The inhabitants of Little St. Bernard very properly conſidered their Deity, and thoſe of Great St. Bernard (we may be ſure) equally conſidered him, he being the Jove or Jehovah of their fathers; to be the Grand Inſpector of the univerſe. This belief they peculiarly wiſhed to exhibit, in ſome lively repreſentation that ſhould ſtrike upon their ſenſes. Under the groſſneſs of Heatheniſm, Man was continually rendering every attribute in the nature, and every circumſtance in the perſon, of the awful Father of Spirits, corporeal and viſible. His underſtanding *then* was not refined enough, to check this tendency of the mind, which we feel even now, under all the ſublimating eſſence of Chriſtianity, operating very powerfully upon us. His underſtanding indeed was

ſo

ſo far from controuling this ſenſitive turn, that it was controuled by it. Thus the attributes of the Godhead were exhibited to the view, in ſuch an earthly and tangible form; as now marks to our raiſed intellects, the mere childhood and infancy of the human underſtanding. The Graian Mountaineers accordingly repreſented that ſolemn exerciſe of power in the Divinity, the continual inſpection of the world by him; and impreſſed it perpetually upon their own minds, when they came to worſhip before his ſtatue; by giving his ſtatue A LARGE EYE. This principle of theology, which is ſo peculiarly uſeful to a Being like Man, and carries ſuch a ſilent efficacy with it to the heart of every thinking man; was kept up among ſome of the more refined Heathens, by conſidering the Sun in the ſkies as the very eye of God. This is a moſt appoſite image for the purpoſe; and ſpeaks the ſublimity of the fancy, that firſt ſuggeſted it. But it had one grand defect. When the clouds of day came over the ſun, or when the darkneſs of night had covered it; then the eye of God was cloſed, in the conceptions of men. They were therefore compelled to adopt an image, that was leſs ſplendid and glorious, but more faithful and juſt; one that ſhould be always preſent at their devotions, always evincing its preſence by its radiation, and ſo inculcating upon them always the actual inſpection of their God. Where then could they find any ſuch repreſenta-

tion,

tion, except in thoſe ſecret imitations of the ſun, which nature inveſts with its rays in their dark beds within the earth, which reflect them brightly even when they are drawn forth into day-light by Man, and ſo become little ſuns themſelves for the decoration of his perſon? We therefore find the Egyptians, thoſe firſt ſcholars in the Heathen world, thoſe firſt fathers of idolatry to it, and thoſe greateſt materializers of the ſpiritualities of religion in all ages; furniſhing *their* Jupiter under the name of Oſiris, with a ſcepter to ſhow his ſovereignty, and with an *eye* at the end of it to ſignify his inſpection. This eye they muſt have formed of ſome gem, that was at once important from its value, and conſpicuous for its luſtre. Exactly in the ſame ſpirit, did the Romans of Little St. Bernard exhibit to themſelves the eye of their Penine Jove, by a CARBUNCLE; a gem of ſuch uncommon vivacity, that it was ſo denominated from its reſemblance to a burning coal. "Of all the glowing gems," ſays Pliny, "the "principal are Carbuncles, denominated from "their likeneſs to fires[a]." The antients had them from India, Libya, and Æthiopia, Caria, Thrace, Arcadia, and Chios; though moderns find them in India only. "Nor was there any "gem," adds Pliny, "more frequent in its uſe

[a] Pliny xxxvii. 7. "Principatum habent Carbunculi, a ſi-"militudine igeium appellati."

among

" among the antients *";" while *we* conſider them as rare, even in India itſelf. *We* have conſequently rejected from the rank of Carbuncles, many that the antients honoured with a place among them. *We* conſider the Indian, as the only carbuncles in reality; and carbuncles therefore are much more valuable among us, than they were among the Romans. All this accounts ſatisfactorily, for ſuch a gem as that being made uſe of upon the Alps, to ſhadow forth the Providential Eye of God. The Indies are to the moderns almoſt the only cabinet of jewels, which Nature has provided for the world; while the antients could unlock one, in various regions. Yet the Romans muſt have introduced the idea and the application, when their empire laid open the theology of Egypt to them, and their ſettlement on the Alps introduced it to the natives. But how did the Alpine Romans apply this *ſun-ſtone*, to their Jupiter Peninus of Little St. Bernard? The ſtatue of him having been already modelled, in the form of a man; and this being the only form, in which Man can image out his God to himſelf; he was already provided with a pair of eyes. To have put out theſe, and inſerted the carbuncle for them in the middle of his forehead, would have been to deform their Jupiter into a Cyclops, and

* Ibid. ibid. " Nec fuit alia gemma apud antiquos uſu " frequentior."

to

to brutalize their Peninus into a Polypheme. To have retained theſe, and to have fixed the carbuncle for a third eye near them, would have been ſtill worſe probably in their eſtimation; to have formed a figure, ſuch as was not to be ſeen in the whole creation, a mere monſter and prodigy in nature. Either alſo would have been, I ſuppoſe, to break in upon the ſacredneſs of their religion, by violating the perſonal ſanctity of their God. They therefore took a different courſe. Yet they did not act as the Egyptians did, by placing a ſcepter in his right hand, and fixing the carbuncle as an eye at the end of it. The right hand of their God had an expanded palm, equally in Peninus and in Jupiter; and could not hold a ſcepter. His left hand too had a palm half-expanded, in their Peninus; and was brandiſhing the thunder, in their Jupiter. They accordingly placed the carbuncle on the top of the pillar, and cloſe to the ſtatue of their God; there to be continually reminding his worſhippers by its ſplendour, of the ever-wakeful, ever-lively, ever-luſtrous eye of the Deity. In this ſymbolical ſignification, the worſhippers appear to have actually conſidered it; the tradition of its exiſtence, its poſition, and its import, remaining for many ages after it had been taken away; and the Chriſtians ſtill calling it, as their Heathen fathers had been uſe to call it before, with a variation incident to the latter as Romans or as Natives, the

eye

eye of Jupiter or the eye of Peninus. We thus ſee the rude mountaineers of the Alps, under the influence of Roman literature and the introduction of Egyptian theology, riſing ſuperiour to the generality of the Romans, and vying even with the Egyptians themſelves; in that higheſt argument of an exalted way of thinking, a dignity of ſentiment concerning God [p].

— III. —

[p] Martin i. 403-404. "Il ſemble qu'il y ait ici deux ſentimens contraires, l'un tenant que cet Eſcarboucle etoit l'œil de Peninus, et l'autre que c'etoit l'œil de Jupiter. Mais toute la difficulté s'evanouït, quand on ſuppoſe, ce qui eſt certainement tres-vrai, que cet Eſcarboucle paſſa pour l'œil de Peninus, tandis que la ſtatuë de ce Dieu fut ſur pied:" Martin ſuppoſing without authority, and even againſt authority, though he affirms the point to be "certainly very true," that the ſtatue of Peninus was *taken off from the pillar*, in order *to place Jupiter's in the room of it*; when we have actually ſeen the ſtatue of Peninus *to have remained on the pillar* at Great St. Bernard, even when the pillar was new and Roman, and the ſtatue of Jupiter to have been placed on *another* pillar. "Mais des qu'on la tira pour lui ſubſtituer celle de Jupiter," when it was never taken down at all, "l'Eſcarboucle, ſans bouger de place, pour ainſi dire, ſans ſe reſſentir du contre-coup de la chûte de Peninus," who had plainly received no fall either on Great or on Little St. Bernard, as he retained his name to the laſt along with Jupiter on both, "ni murmurer contre ſon ſort, rendit ſur le champ à Jupiter les mêmes offices, qu'il avoit rendu à ſon ancien maître, et prit le nom d'œil de Jupiter." This account, even if founded on a fact of the ſtatue of Jupiter being placed on the pillar of Peninus, would not explain the variation in the name, and tell us why the carbuncle

— III. —

In this manner do we ſee the Jupiter of the Pennine Alps, ſtanding erect on his Olympus at Great

buncle was called the eye of Jupiter *and* the eye of Peninus. It was not a *prior* generation of theſe mountaineers, that called it the eye of *Peninus*; and a *poſteriour* one, that named it the eye of *Jupiter*. De Viot, a *prior* writer, denominates it the eye of *Jupiter*; while Guichenon, a *poſteriour* one, maintains it was the eye of *Peninus*. Each indeed ſpoke only from the traditions, remaining among ſuch of his cotemporaries as converſed with each; *this* reciting the tradition of the *Natives*, for their fathers attributing it to *Peninus*; and *that* repeating the equal tradition of the *Romans*, for their anceſtors aſcribing it to *Jupiter*.

" Non-obſtant ce revers, les paroles de Servius, que nous " venons rapporter," to which I have alluded before, and all which I ſhall ſoon deliver at full length in the text, " nous ap- " prennent que le culte de Peninus continuoit encore de ſon " temps dans les Alpes, c'eſt à dire, vers le millieu de quatri- " eme ſiecle." The ſtatue of Peninus, then, was *not* taken off from his pillar, and Dom Martin is finally his own refuter.

" Mais quelle eſpece de Divinité etoit le Dieu Penin? La " premiere penſée, qui m'eſt venu la-deſſus, eſt que ce Dieu " *pouvoit etre*," what I have ſhown him *poſitively* to *be*, " Ju- " piter. Les mots d'*Optimo Maximo*, inferez dans l'inſcription " de Guichenon, conduiſent naturellement à ce ſentiment, " auſſi-bien que l'epithete *Summus*, que donnent à Penninus " l'Itineraire d'Antonin et la Table où Notice des villes;" an argument founded ſolely on a blunder in Dom Martin, the word *Summus* in Antonine's Itinerary and Peutinger's Table,

as

Great St. Bernard, ſtretching out one leg to the Greek Alps of Little St. Bernard, and ſo ſtriding, like

as we have ſeen before, being applied to the *mountain*, and not to the God. " Selon moi, tout cela etoit confirmé par le mot " Celte, dont Penninus a eté formé. Car *Pen* où *Penn* ſig- " nifie *tete*, *ſommet*, *lieu elevé*. Or les Gaulois, qui habitoient " les Alpes Pennines, *pouvoient* avoir donné ce nom où ſur- " nom à leur Jupiter, faiſant alluſion du rang qu'il tenoit dans " les cieux, et à ſa qualité de Chef et de Pere les Dieux et des " Hommes." Dom Martin thus ſuppoſes Peninus *might* be Jupiter, then adduces for it an argument that proves he *was*, and *confirms* all by urging, that the mountaineers *might* give Jupiter the name of Peninus, as the *Pen* or Head of all nature. To arguments of mere poſſibility, little reply is requiſite. I ſhall only obſerve therefore, that we may juſt as well ſuppoſe Jupiter to have been called *Capitolinus* at Rome, becauſe he was the *Caput* or Chief of the Gods.

" D'ailleurs *l'œil de Peninus* ſembloit avoir eté, à l'egard des " Gaulois de l'*Appennin*," where he means the *Alps* though he names the *Apennines*, " non un deplacement au *lieu de l'œil de* " *Jupiter*, ſi connu dans l'antiquité ſelon Macrobe," or, as he meant to ſay, had not been diſplaced *to make room* for the eye of Jupiter, and ſo the ſtatue of Peninus had *not* (as he had previouſly ſaid it *had*) been removed for Jupiter's; " mais " une expreſſion ſynonyme en leur langue de ces mêmes " termes: outre que ſi Peninus avoit eté un nom local, comme " quelques auteurs l'ont cru, la conjecture auroit eu encore " plus de lieu." How ſtrangely does the author here loſe himſelf in a wilderneſs, by adhering to no one path, but turning aſide into the thickets on the right and left, and yet not having the ſpirit to beat through them again upon any ſide!

" Je fortifiois toutes ces conjectures, du raiſonnement ſui- " vant. Quand on fait, diſois-je, attention à la coutume des " Romains, d'evoquer les Dieux Tutelaires d'un pays ennemi " avant de l'attaquer, avec promeſſe de leur eriger des Tem-

like a Coloſſus, acroſs this arch of the mountains. In his temple upon the Plain of Jove, as Simler additionally

" ples dans quelque province de l'empire ; et qu'on ne voit ni " monument, ni memoire, ni veſtige, qu'ils ſe ſoient jamais " acquittés de leur vœu à l'egard de Peninus," when the principle itſelf applies only to towns, and beſieged towns; when, if it is *thus* applied to nations, it would deſtroy the diſtinct exiſtence, not merely of Peninus, but of almoſt all the national Gods of antiquity; and when Dom Martin has actually given us one dedication by Terentius Varro, the conquerour of the country, to " the Genius of the Place," and another by Lucius Lucilius to the God Peninus expreſsly; " pendant qu'il eſt cer- " tain, que le culte de ce Dieu ne fut jamais interrompu ni al- " teré ; qu'au contraire il ſubſiſta toujours dans le même en- " droit, quoique ſa ſtatuë en eut retirée et enlevée," though, if the ſtatue of Peninus was removed to make room for Jupiter's, *it is not poſſible* for the *worſhip* of *Peninus* to have *continued:* " il eſt, ce ſemble, hors de doute, que le Jupiter, qu'on lui " *ſubſtitua*, etoit *le même Dieu que lui*, et qu'il n'y avoit d'autre " difference entre eux, ſinon que l'un etoit de la façon et du " goût des Romains, et l'autre de la façon et du goût des Gau- " lois." Dom Martin thus finiſhes his argument. He was to prove Peninus and Jupiter, to be the *ſame* Deity; and he aſſerts the ſtatue of Jupiter, to have been *ſubſtituted* for that of Peninus. He was to prove ſome worſhip to have been paid to Peninus by the Romans; and proves it by their—taking away the ſtatue of Peninus, and worſhipping their own Jupiter's in the room of it.

Dom Martin has thus run *one* complete career of arguments. He ſet out with aſſerting as " certainly very true," that the carbuncle " paſſed for the eye of Peninus, *ſo long as* the ſtatue " of this God was upon its legs; but when this was taken " away to ſubſtitute that of Jupiter in its place, the carbun- " cle rendered immediately the ſame offices to Jupiter, which " it

additionally informs us, "the monuments of the "country report *a certain idol*, to have been wor- "ſhipped on this mountain; which *gave anſwers* "*to all who aſked queſtions of it*[q]." In the original formation of the mind of man, he is ſet with a

"it had rendered to its ancient maſter, and took the name of "the eye of Jupiter." Thus the worſhip of Peninus, according to the opinion of Dom Martin and the inference of Common-ſenſe from it, was *ſet aſide* for *that of Jupiter*. But the author in the next paragraph finds, that the worſhip of Peninus was *not* ſet aſide at all. Servius proves, that it was continued down to his time, and Dom Martin cannot reſiſt his evidence. Yet how does he reconcile it with his own aſſertion before? In this *eaſy* and *natural* manner. He conſiders Jupiter to be *the very ſame* with Peninus himſelf, the *new* maſter with the *old* one, and the God *ſubſtituted* with the Deity *to whom he was ſubſtituted*. He therefore aſſerts now in terms, that there was "no diſplacing" of Peninus by Jupiter; and that Jupiter and Peninus are the ſame God, only differenced by ſynonimous appellations. But he finally "fortifies" all, by ſtill affirming "the ſtatue of Peninus to have been *withdrawn and carried* "*off*," by ſtill aſſerting "the worſhip of this God *not* to have "been *ever interrupted or altered*," and by ſtill averring expreſsly, "that the *Jupiter*, who was *ſubſtituted in the room of* "*Peninus*, was *the ſame God with him*." Such a maze of confuſion have we here, the walks all running into each other, diverging on the right, converging on the left, and both converging and diverging in the ſame point at times. I have however provided a clue in the text, that threads all theſe mazes completely; and I refer my reader for *another* ſet of obſervations, to a note at the cloſe of this diſſertation.

[q] Simler 83. "Domeſticis monumentis proditum eſt, in "hoc monte idolum quoddam fuiſſe, quod petentibus reſponſa "dederit."

ſtrong, becauſe a neceſſary, inclination to futurity. His exiſtence reaching beyond the horizon of Time, and running into the depths of Eternity, his mind is powerfully bent and turned towards the future. But, as corruption clouds his diſcernment, the Great Future of Eternity is loſt to his view, and only the Petty Future of Time remains an object to him. About this he becomes very anxious. From the dimmer ſtate of his moral perception, all thoſe rays of viſion, which were to fix upon the diſtant ages of Eternity, converge much ſooner to a point, and fix only on the near objects of Time. Himſelf, his friends, his family, all engage the attention of his contractedly provident reaſon. Oracles were thus multiplied to an aſtoniſhing number, under that ſyſtem of opinions and practiſes which we call Heatheniſm, and which muſt for ever remain as a brand of infamy, on the head and heart of man. It was thus, that the Pennine Jupiter became oracular on Great St. Bernard. But, as the domeſtick monuments add, "Bernard, a prieſt "of Aoſta, threw down this idol[x]." Such confuſion does popular hiſtory make, with chronology! The prieſt of Aoſta lived only in the *tenth* century; and theſe hills muſt have had Chriſtianity adopted among them, ſix ages before. In

[x] Simler 84. "Bernardus, ſacerdos ex Auguſtâ Prætoriâ, "—idolum dejecit."

the

the reign of Conſtantine, the Alps muſt have ſhared with all the Roman world, in the happineſs of having the Sun of Chriſtianity, which had been ſo long moving behind a ſcreen of clouds, and diſpenſing its light ſecretly through the univerſe; now breaking out in its full blaze of brightneſs, upon them. Accordingly a writer of the adjoining Vallais, who appears from his particularity to ſtand upon ſome evidence of domeſtick monuments, reports; that "about the "year 339 the younger Conſtantine cauſed the "ſtatue of Jupiter, which was" in the Temple "at the height of the paſſage, to be removed[s]." St. Bernard the prieſt of Aoſta, therefore, is confounded with another St. Bernard, who removed the ſtatue probably by the order of Conſtantine; and who by this act left his name to the mountain, long before the prieſt of Aoſta lived[t]. But, as Simler ſubjoins, "the vulgar report idly," in their perpetual mode of rearing the ſuperſtructure of fable upon the foundation of hiſtory; "that "*the Dæmon who gave anſwers* was driven by "certain adjurations of the Prieſt's, into a hor"rible den of this mountain, and is there kept

[s] Sauſſure iv. 229. "De Rivaz, auteur Valaiſan, pretend "que vers l'an 339 Conſtantine le Jeune fit abattre la ſtatue "de Jupiter, qui etoit au haut du paſſage."

[t] See vol. ii. chap. i. ſect. 4. hereafter.

" impriſoned to this day [u]." Or, as Simler repeats the ſubſtance of all with ſome additions in another place, this prieſt " threw down the idol " which ſtood on the top of the Pennine Hill, " and by his *prayers* drove away the Dæmon *who* " *infeſted this road* [v]."

[u] Simler 84. " Vulgus nugatur, Dæmonem qui reſponſa " dederit, ab eo in horrendum ſpecum hujus montis quibuſ- " dam adjurationibus compulſum, illic quaſi carcere quôdam " detineri."

[v] Simler 247. " Hic—idolum, quod in Summo Pennino " erat, dejecit; ac Dæmonem, qui iter hoc infeſtum reddebat, " precibus ſuis depulit."

I have previouſly diſſected in a note, *one* courſe of arguments in Dom Martin's Religion of the Gauls, concerning this idol Peninus or this God Jupiter; and have ſhown the arguments, to be all tangled in mazes and perplexed with errours. But the author conſummates his confuſion, by entering immediately on a new courſe of arguments, *in direct and profeſſed oppoſition to thoſe.*

" Mais toutes ces conjectures," he ſays, tom. i. liv. i. p. 404-505, " ſi bien appuyées en apparence, *un ſeul paſſage* " de Macrobe les *renverſe*. Car cet auteur nous apprend, " que le Soleil paſſoit dans l'eſprit de l'antiquité *la plus reculée*, " pour etre l'œil de Jupiter. "' Solem Jovis oculum appellat " Antiquitas,"' not *remotiſſima* to anſwer *la plus reculée*, but ſimply *Antiquitas*, "' L. i. Saturn. c. 21."' Les Egyptiens, " ajoute-il, pour faire entendre qu' Oſiris etoit vraiment le " Soleil, ſe ſervoient d'un Hieroglyphe pour exprimer leur " créance, qui conſiſtoit en un ſceptre, au bout duquel ils " placoient un œil; ce qui ſignifioit tout à la fois, et qu' " Oſiris etoit le Soleil, et qu'il avoit tous les droits et honneurs " de la royauté, et que de plus haut de ciel il jettoit les yeux

" ſur

But I haſten to remark, that ſeveral of the inſcriptions which have been found upon Great St. Bernard,

" ſur toutes choſes, et les conſideroit. Plutarque avoit dit la " même choſe, long tems avant Macrobe. On repreſente, " dit-il, le Soleil et le Roi Oſiris par un œil et un ſceptre. Τον γαρ Βασιλεα και Κυριον Οσιριν οφθαλμῳ και σκηπτρῳ γραφουσιν." When the Sun was exhibited with a ſcepter and an eye, he was ſo exhibited only as the repreſentative of Jupiter himſelf. The Sun could otherwiſe have had no claim to either. Nor could the Sun be otherwiſe ſaid, to caſt his " eyes" over all things, and to " conſider" them. When alſo Oſiris was exhibited in the ſame manner, he was equally exhibited in the ſame capacity, and as equally a repreſentative of Jupiter. The figure of the Sun could never have been ſo dreſt out, in reference merely to the Sun itſelf. The figure of Oſiris could ſtill leſs be dreſt out ſo, in alluſion to the Sun. Oſiris was not the repreſentative of a repreſentative. Both ſtood in the ſame ſymbolical relation to one original, and both were therefore accommodated with the ſame ſymbols. Plutarch therefore diſtinguiſhes Oſiris expreſsly from the Sun, in the very paſſage referred-to above; when he ſays, that " the Sun *and* Oſiris" were both furniſhed with an eye and a ſcepter.

" Le paſſage de Caton l'Ancien, que j'ai promis, concourt " au à fortifier cette verité. L'age d'or, dit-il, ſelon Antio- " chus de Siracuſe, a duré juſqu' au dernier *roi* d'Italie, ap- " pellé *Apis*; de cet Apis eſt venu le nom de la Deeſſe *Apen- " nina*, qui revient au mot Latin *Taurina*." This laſt clauſe, and one word before, do not give us the exact import of Cato's words. " Aurea ætas," he ſays, " uſque ad Apim, " *Deorum* Italiæ ultimum, ut Antiochus Siracuſanus ſcribit; " a quo *Apennina*, quam Taurinam *idem interpretatur*," whom Antiochus interprets to be the ſame Goddeſs with *Taurina*. " Or, il eſt certain, qu' Apis etoit pris pour le Soleil, et ho-

" noré

Bernard, referring to this Oracular Dæmon, this Jupiter of the Romans, and this Peninus of the Natives;

" noré en cette qualité. "' Apis in civitate Memphi Solis in-"' ſtar excipitur.'" Macrob. Saturn. Liv. i. c. 21." The derivation of the name, either of the *Apennine* hills or of the Goddeſs *Apennina*, from one Apis " the laſt of the Gods of " Italy;" is one of thoſe ridiculous etymologies, which the childiſhneſs of antiquarianiſm is continually forming, in all ages and in all nations. Nor have we the leaſt evidence of hiſtory, or even of probability; that Apis was " the laſt of " the Gods of Italy," or that he was the ſame with the God of Memphis in Egypt. The Memphian Apis, we may be ſure, was only exhibited like Oſiris and the Sun, with an eye and with a ſcepter; as equally a repreſentative with both, of the all-inſpecting and all-controuling Jove. " Solis *inſtar* ex-" cipitur."

" Il ſeroit inutile apres cela, d'expliquer le Dieu Peninus " autrement que du Soleil. La jeuneſſe, qu'on lui donnoit, " et ſa nudité, ſont des caracteres qui le ſuivent partout, auſſi-" bien qu' Apollon, qui etoit lui-même le Soleil;" when, as Dom Martin has told us himſelf, Peninus has thoſe appropriated attributes of Jupiter, " Optimus Maximus," expreſsly aſſigned to him in the inſcription upon his pillar, " et " c'eſt *peut-etre* pour conſerver le ſouvenir, ou quelque idée, de " la nature de ce Dieu, que les Romains donnerent au Jupiter " qu'ils mirent en ſa place, une couronne radiale, qui eſt la " couronne propre du Soleil;" when all *probable*, and even all *poſſible*, arguments are precluded for ever, by this Deity being actually denominated *Jupiter Pœninus*, upon a Roman inſcription. But, before I leave this concluding argument of the author's, let me juſt remark upon it; that even in the very moments, when he is endeavouring to make *him* the Sun, whom he has made Jupiter before, he revolts from his preſent purpoſe, recoils back to his former, and ſays " it was poſſibly

" to

Natives; give us his national appellation with an Œ inſtead of an E, and ſo repreſent the God as Pæninus,

" to preſerve the remembrance or ſome idea of the nature of " this God, that the Romans gave to JUPITER, whom they " ſet up in his place, a radial crown, which is the crown pro- " per to the Sun." After he has declared the paſſage of Macrobius, to "*overturn* all his conjectures" of this Alpine God being *Jupiter*, and after he has pronounced it "*vain* to explain " the God Peninus otherwiſe than of the *Sun*;" he expreſsly makes him *Jupiter*, in the very act of proving him the *Sun*.

I have entered into both theſe notes concerning Dom Martin, becauſe a copy of his work is rare at preſent in England, becauſe the celebrity of it is impoſing upon the credulity of our writers, and a refutation was neceſſary to the vindication of my text. I attempted in vain for many months, by a reference to my friends, to procure a copy or an extract. John Hawkins Eſq. at laſt, moſt obligingly wrote for me to Wolfembuttle in Germany, and procured me a tranſcript of Chapter xxix. Book ii. p. 401 &c., from the magnificent library there. Still the connecting paſſage in chap. viii. p. 298 &c. was wanting. Nor was I able to proceed, till that ready and prompt friendlineſs, which has diſtinguiſhed the conduct of Andrew Lumiſden Eſq. towards me, and which had already ſupplied me with a large extract from Guichenon; gave me an opportunity of ranging over all Dom Martin, by accidentally procuring a copy, and directly tranſmitting it to me in Cornwall. From a cloſe examination of theſe paſſages then, I may ſafely affirm, that the work has more celebrity than merit; that the author has puzzled his inquiſitive mind, by running away too rapidly upon the ſcent of learning; and has hurt his critical diſcernment, by the duſt which he has raiſed about him, in the buſtle of his inefficient operations.

Yet

Pæninus, not Peninus. Whence then ariſes this ſtrange variation of the name? It ariſes from a circum-

Yet the Hiſtory of the Gauls in Ant. Un. Hiſt. xviii. 573, written by the late Pſalmanazar, has taken his account with all its abſurdity; and even added to the abſurdity, by a confuſedneſs purely its own. The God Peninus, it ſays, "was repre-" ſented as a young man naked, on a column reared to him on " the top of Mount St. Bernard the *Leſs* by L. Lucilius;" when it ſhould have ſaid, on Mount St. Bernard the *Greater*, as *there* is Lucilius's column; "and is ſtiled *Optimus Maximus*; " whence it is concluded, that he was the ſame with the " Gauliſh *Jou* or Jove. What ſeems to confirm this *beyond all* " *queſtion is*, that the column on which *it*," Lucilius's ſtatue of Peninus, "ſtood, is indifferently called the column of Jove " and of Peninus," when Lucilius's pillar on *Great* St. Bernard is only *inſcribed* to Peninus, and the pillar on *Little* St. Bernard is alone *denominated* the column of Jove; "and the carbuncle " that was placed on *it*," that is, on the pillar of Lucilius, which had no carbuncle upon it, as only the pillar on *Little* St. Bernard had one, "the eye of Jove and the eye of Peninus " (Guichenon, Hiſtory of Savoy, tom. i. lib. i. c. 4. *Vide* " relig. de Gaul. lib. ii. c. 29). But, ſince by the eye of Ju-" piter was meant the Sun from *all* antiquity (*vide* Macrob. " Saturn. lib. i. c. 21), *and the carbuncle was a proper emblem* " *of this laſt Deity*," Pſalmanazar very naturally adding this ſtroke to the touches of Dom Martin, and arguing with him from that perpetual communion of *leſſer* attributes among the Gods of Heatheniſm, by which Dom Martin has transformed an *acknowledged* Jupiter with a radial crown, into an Apollo or the Sun, and from which, if it was purſued to its full length, we ſhould leave no diſtinction at all among the Heathen Gods; " why may we not as well ſuppoſe this ſtatue, naked and " youthful as it was, to have been dedicated to *it*, rather than " to Jupiter," though the author himſelf has already produced

an

circumſtance, that has a peculiar affinity with our preſent ſubject. I have therefore led to it before, and go on to conſider it now.

Livy's teſtimony againſt the paſſage of Hannibal over the Pennine Alps, has been frequently appealed to with an air of triumph, by thoſe who feel their weakneſs too ſenſibly to walk upon their own legs, and are therefore obliged to hobble on the crutches of authority. Theſe form the multitude of readers, even of writers too; and, with all ſuch, the appeal is very natural. Who is ſo likely to know the route that Hannibal did or did not take, as his own hiſtorian, as the general hiſtorian of the Romans too, as a Roman living only two centuries afterward, as a writer of the firſt credit and dignity in the empire of hiſtory? Such are the ſtrong reaſons, that have

an argument for its being dedicated to *Jupiter*, "which ſeems "to confirm this *beyond all queſtion*." The hiſtorian has adopted the confuſedneſs, with the opinions, of the diſquiſitor. "The inſcription is," adds a note to all, "*Lucius Lucilius Deo* "*Penino Optimo Maximo Donum dedit*: the column was of "marble, and about fourteen feet in height." The hiſtory thus completes its own confuſedneſs, concerning theſe two mountains. The *inſcription* is on the *Great* St. Bernard, and the *column* on the *Little*. Nor can I refrain from obſerving at the cloſe, That learning is a heavy meal, which requires a ſtrong concoctive power within, to break it into its conſtituent parts, and make it miniſter to nouriſhment, health, or vigour.

induced

induced all ages of literary inquiry, implicitly to receive the atteſtation of Livy, and eagerly to repel Hannibal from Great St. Bernard! But with thoſe who can examine the evidence of facts, who dare to think with even a Livy againſt them, and even preſume to call a Livy himſelf, that monarch in hiſtory, to the bar of their literary republicaniſm; the aſſertions of Livy will have only the weight of his reaſons. Merely as *theſe* are of moment, will *thoſe* be conſidered of importance. Yet no petulance of criticiſm ſhould be ſhown to ſuch an author. The monarch ſhould be revered, when the man is tried. The authority of Livy, indeed, ſhould be conſidered as ever reſpectable in itſelf; nor ſhould any opinion be lightly taken up againſt it, eſpecially on a point of hiſtory ſo near to his own times. But his teſtimony is really of no weight, in the preſent caſe. It is contradicted by thoſe inſcriptions above. It is oppoſed by the whole tenour of Polybius's hiſtory of Hannibal. It is encountered by the whole tenour even of his own. It is finally and for ever overthrown, by ſome ſtriking notices in other and earlier parts of his general hiſtory. This hiſtorian therefore, who ſtands ſtriding like a Giant acroſs the plain and by the temple on Great St. Bernard, brandiſhing his iron mace, and forbidding me all paſſage with Hannibal along that avenue; I am compelled to face

face becauſe he ſtops me, to knock down becauſe he would diſlodge me, and to march over his proſtrate body (if I can) into Italy.

— IV. —

"I WONDER THAT IT IS DOUBTED," he ſays, "BY WHAT WAY HANNIBAL PASSED THE ALPS; "AND THAT IT IS POPULARLY BELIEVED, HE "PASSED BY THE PENINE, AND THE VERY NAME "WAS THENCE DERIVED TO THIS RIDGE OF THE "ALPS[w]."

The name of the *Pennine* Alps, undoubtedly, is *not* borrowed from the march of the *Pœni* or Carthaginians over them. It flowed from that great well-ſpring of half the antient appellatives in Europe, the Celtick language; the language, which we know to have been ſpoken in the days of Hannibal, all over France, all over theſe Britiſh iſles, in the weſt and ſouth of Germany, the eaſt of Spain, the north of Italy, and the Alps; and the language, which was ſpoken in our own Cornwall within theſe very few years, is ſtill ſpoken in our own Wales, in our own Highlands and Weſtern Iſles of Scotland, and (I be-

[w] Livy xxi. 38. "Miror ambigi, quânam Alpes tranſierit; "et vulgò credere, Penino, atque indè nomen et jugo Alpium "inditum, tranſgreſſum."

lieve) in many parts of Bretagné, Biſcay, or Ireland, to the preſent day; having formed an infinite number of local appellations, in all. By this extenſive and long-lived language, the Alps were naturally denominated in that general mode of characterizing, which is always the firſt exerciſe of the human mind in diſcrimination; ALPS or Hills, PENINE or Heights, and PENINE ALPS or Hill-Heights. The Alps of Italy were originally denominated *Albs* and *Alpions*; as late as the days of Strabo, a high hill juſt beyond the caſtern termination of the Alps, was ſtill denominated *Albion*; even two towns of the Ligurian Intemelii and Ingauni on the Alps, were then called *Albium* Intemelium and *Alb*-ingaunum; even two of the Ligurian tribes themſelves, were then named *Albiœci* and *Albienſes*[x]; and our own iſland took the appellation of *Albion*, before it was inhabited, and when it was only ſeen, from the firſt part of it that was ſeen, the firſt that would therefore attach an appellation to it, the ſhining chalk-cliffs of Dover. We have actually a Roman Route for a part of our iſland, that gives us the ſame name of *Alps* for a range of our own mountains, the ſame appellation of *Pennine* for a

[x] Strabo iv. 309 and 311. So we have *Albis* at this day in Switzerland, Wald-nacht *Alp*, *Alp* nach, *Alp* bach, *Alp*-ſchelenhorn, &c. Coxe i. 241, 288, 308, 350, and 299. And ſo we have *Albenga*, a town among thoſe which were formerly called the Maritime Alps, the *Albingaunum* of the text probably.

particular

particular point of them, and the ſame accumulation of one upon the other for both. A Roman town is placed by it on the borders of Lancaſhire and Yorkſhire, with this Italian title to it, "Ad Alpes Peninas[y]." Nor is the appellation of *Pennine* yet loſt entirely, among our Engliſh Alps. They have loſt the name of Alps indeed, while the Italian have retained it; but have retained the appellation of *Pennine*, while the Italian have loſt it. An abrupt peak at this point between Yorkſhire and Lancaſhire, is ſtill denominated *Pen*-hull in records and *Pend*-le-hill in converſation; a lofty moor not far from it, is equally called *Penn*-how or *Penn*-ow; and a great mountain to the north of both, is named *Pen*-i-guent[z]. Nor was the appellation of *Pen* confined, merely to the Alps of Italy or to the Alps of Britain. That twin-brother in the gigantick family of Italian mountains, the *Apennine*, is ſo called as A PENINE or The Heights. This is plain at once, to a mind familiar with etymology; but is rendered plain to every mind, by two or three incidents of an extraordinary nature. In that excreſcence of abſurdity upon the body of ſottiſhneſs, which made the Heathens ſo groſsly aſſimilate their Deities to men, as even to give them ſexual diſtinctions, and claſs them into

[y] Ricardus Corinenſis, Iter viii.
[z] Hiſtory of Manchester i. 194.

males or females; the God *Peninus* of these hills was actually changed into a Goddess at times, and denominated *Penina* or *Apennina* by the Romans. "The very places *by which Hannibal broke* "*into Italy*," Servius informs us, with a peculiar utility for the present work, "*are* called *the* "*Apennine Alps*; though I have read, that the "Alps are so called from *the Goddess Penina*, "which is there worshipped[a]." From "Apis "the last of the Gods of Italy," Cato the Elder tells us on the authority of Antiochus the Syracusan, "is derived the name of *the Goddess Apen-*"*nina*; which the same writer interprets by "Taurina[b]," or the Goddess of the Taurini, that very nation under the Pennine Alps, to whose capital, TURIN, I have repeatedly noticed Hannibal to be now tending. Even so late as Strabo's time, a point of the Alps to the east was still called the Apennine; as the Carni, he notes, inhabited about Aquileia, as "contiguous to the "Carni is *the Apennine Mountain*," and as "among "the places near Illyricum and the Adriatick is

[a] Servius. "Denique loca ipsa, quæ [Annibal] rupit, "Apenninæ Alpes vocantur; quamvis legatur, a Penina Dea, "quæ ibi colitur, Alpes vocari." Comment. on Æneid x (Dom Martin i. 402 and Ant. Un. Hist. xviii. 573).

[b] Cato. "A quo [Api] Apennina, quam Taurinam idem "[Antiochus Syracusanus] interpretatur." Macrob. Saturn. i. 21 (Dom Martin i. 405 and Ant. Un. Hist. xviii. 573).

"the

"*the Apennine Mountain* mentioned already [c]." But in the Tables of Peutinger we have even the Apennine hills, by an inverſe ratio of denomination, called expreſsly *the Pennine Alps*; thoſe Tables preſenting to us theſe ſtages between Genoa and Lucca, where the road runs directly under the Apennine and along the ſea, "Genua "....., Ricina xv, Ad Solaria vi, IN ALPE "PENNINO ii, ... Lune .....; "Luca ..... [d]. All this deciſively ſhows the Apennine Mountains and the Pennine Alps, to bear the very ſame appellation in reality as well as in appearance. That long line of mountains, which runs like the great back-bone of Italy from the head through the upper half of the body, and then forks off into two ſhort thighs and legs for the lower half, obtained the deſignation of the Apennine, and has kept it. That bolder line of mountains, which riſes like a military rampart before Italy, juſt where its natural barrier of the ſea deſerts it; and ſo runs from the Adriatick, to turn in an angle for the Mediter-

[c] Strabo iv. 316-317. Των κατα Ακυλητιαν τοπων οικουσι—Καρνοι.—υπερκειται δε των Καρνων, το Απεννινον ορος. and ορος την Ιλλυριδα και την Αδριαν—επι το τε Απεννινου ορους το λαχθεν. This new kind of Apennine hills has greatly perplexed the criticks, and ſo put them upon the raſh dexterity of altering. But the recurrence of the name ſhows the orthography to be right, and my context above accounts for both.

[d] Second ſegment of the Tables.

ranean, and insulate Italy from Germany and Gaule; acquiring the general denomination of the Alps, obtained also the particular appellation of the Pennine Alps. Thus also that broad wall of mountains, which stretches in the partial length of our own island from Derbyshire into Scotland, and once partitioned the inhabitants on either side into distinct kingdoms, as it still throws them into seperate counties; equally assumed the general name of Alps, and equally took the particular title of Pennine Alps. But both these Alps, the English and the Italian, acquired the designation of Pennine (I must observe in reference to the present history) at one special point of their course; *because* there was only *this* passage over the Italian, and *that* over the English, for many ages [e].

Why however is the name so frequently written, in the inscriptions that have been found upon Great St. Bernard, not Penine but Pœnine? For the very reason, that is here intimated by Livy himself. Even *so* near to the days of Hannibal, it was "popularly believed," Livy himself acknowledges, that Hannibal "passed by the Penine" hills, and that "the very name was—derived"

[e] History of Manchester i. 194. "Pyrenæi montes, qui "Hispaniam a Gallia dividunt, *Alpes* nominantur a Procopio, "libro primo" (Sirhler 177).

from

from the *Pæni* of his army. The name I muſt remark, was in Livy's time equally pronounced and written, *not* as it is *now* written and pronounced both in Engliſh and in French, and as it was alſo pronounced and written among the *later* Romans, Pen*n*ine, but Pe*n*ine; and therefore ſlided eaſily upon the tongue then, into Pæ*n*ine. Tradition being certain of the march, Reaſon very naturally laid hold of the name; the accidental ſimilarity between the denomination of the hills and the deſignation of the army, being conſidered as the regular reſult of the fact. To thoſe indeed who were un-acquainted with the earlier hiſtory of the hills, and did not know the appellation to be prior to the march; the ſimilarity muſt irreſiſtibly appear, to be derived from the incident. Nor did either the tradition, or the imagination, end with Livy's days. In ſpite of all that even a Livy could ſay againſt it, the current of tradition ſtill flowed on with un-abated force, and ſtill carried this congenial weed of imagination along with it. It had its ſpring in the well of truth, and therefore maintained its courſe. About ſeventy years afterward, Pliny ſtill found the popular opinion to be the ſame; and even paid it the reſpect, of noticing the whole with a ſeeming approbation, and of actually adopting a part of it himſelf. Speaking of the Graian and Pennine Alps, he calls them "Graian "and Pænine;" and "over theſe *they ſay* the "Pæni

"Pœni paſſed, and Hercules over the Graian [f]." Even as late as the formation of what is called the *Notitia Imperii*, and below the commencement of the fifth century, we have theſe Alps ſometimes called "*Penninæ*," and ſometimes "*Pœninæ* [g]." But Marcellinus ſays expreſsly a little before, that "from this march the Alps "were denominated *Pœninæ* [h]." Ptolemy alſo, at a period much earlier than either the time of Marcellinus or the date of the Notitia, and mounting up within ſeventy or eighty years off the days of Pliny; calls the Pennine Alps, not merely "*Pœninæ*," but with a much cloſer aſſimilation to the tradition, actually and expreſsly "PŒNÆ [i]." In ſome of the inſcriptions too upon Great St. Bernard, we have not only, as I have ſhown above, "Jovi *Pœnino*," but alſo in this very ſtrain of aſſimilation that Ptolemy uſes, "Jovi PŒNO [k]." All demonſtrates the vigour of belief, diffuſed through the whole compaſs of the Roman empire, and working through a

[f] Pliny iii. 17. "Juxta—Graias atque Pœninas; his Pœnos, "Graiis Herculem, tranſiſſe memorant."

[g] P. 117 and 115. Pancirollus. So p. 155. "Alpes *Panne*-"*niæ* et Graiæ;" p. 156, plate, "Alpium *Pœninarum*;" p. 157, "Alpium *Penninarum*."

[h] Marcellinus xv. 101. "Hâc ex causâ ſunt Alpes excogi-"tatæ *Pœninæ*.

[i] Ptolemy ii. 12. p. 61. Ποινικ.

[k] Sauſſure iv. 227. "J'en ai même vu un, où l'on liſoit "*Jovi Pœno*."

courſe

courſe of ſucceſſive ages; that Hannibal carried his Carthaginians, over this mountain. It began, we ſee, *before* the days of Livy. It went on *through* the days of Livy. It continued to the time of Ptolemy. It even deſcended, to the late periods of Marcellinus and the Notitia. The current even increaſed in force and vehemence, as it rolled along. The conviction actuated equally the peaſant and the ſcholar; influenced both the graver and the pen, in the hand of numbers. *Pe*nino was complicated into P*æ*nino, by its ſecret power; and P*æninо* was then contracted into P*æno*, by its inſenſible operations. The whole exhibits to us a picture of the predominance of tradition, and of the energy of its impreſſions; that is hardly to be parallelled on ſuch a point, I ſuppoſe, in any other portion of the hiſtory of man.

V.

So unhappy is Livy in the outſet of his reaſonings, againſt Hannibal's paſſage over the Great St. Bernard! He heads a band of peculiar witneſſes for it. Nor is he more happy, in the progreſs of his argument. "CŒLIUS," he ſays concerning a late hiſtorian of Rome, "TELLS US "THAT HANNIBAL PASSED OVER THE RIDGE OF "CREMO; BOTH WHICH WILDS," this and the

Pennine, " WOULD HAVE BROUGHT HIM, NOT " AMONG THE TAURINI, BUT THROUGH THE " SALASSI OF THE MOUNTAINS TO THE LIBUI " GALLI[1]."

This argument has been ſtrangely ſeen in a miſt, in that miſt has been magnified into a gigantick form, and has thus been ſeen ſtalking in formidable grandeur along the hills. The ridge of Cremo has been taken, without heſitation and without argument, to be the celebrated Mount Cenis. But the words immediately following in the ſentence above, ſhow it to have been a hill that had *a Roman road* over it, which I have proved Mount Cenis to have never had; one too, that would *not* " have brought him—among the " *Taurini*," as the paſs of Mount Cenis certainly would; and one, that actually led *to the ſame point* with the Pennine Way itſelf. " Both theſe " wilds," notes Livy, " would have brought " him" &c. The ridge of Cremo, therefore, is the Graian Alps or Little St. Bernard; the Roman road over which, as I ſhall ſoon demonſtrate, coincided with that over Great St. Bernard near the ſouthern foot of the Alps. Yet the whole argument has been pronounced by one writer, who

[1] Livy xxi. 38. " Cœlius per Cremonis jugum dicit tranſ- " iſſe; qui ambo ſaltus eum, non in Taurinos, ſed per Salaſſos " montanos ad Libuos Gallos, deduxiſſent."

is

is an author of the firſt name among the *natural* hiſtorians of the age, but is little converſant with that infinitely more important and more puzzling hiſtory, the annals of the human mind, and has therefore no acuteneſs of diſcernment and no ſagacity of intellect, for objects merely human; to be an argument very good in itſelf, and proving the point aſſerted [m]. But let us ſtate the poſitions of theſe tribes named by Livy, and we ſhall ſoon ſee the weakneſs of his reaſoning from them.

"The Taurini," ſays Pliny, "had for their "towns Vibi Forum," I know not what place, but conjecture Chevas, "Seguſio," Suſa; "and for their colony, Auguſta Taurinorum," or Turin. "The Salaſſi," he adds, "had the "colony Auguſta Prætoria" or Aoſta, "and the "town Eporædia" or Ivrea below it. The Libui Galli alſo, or (as he calls them) "the Libyci "Galli, had Vercellæ," Vercelli directly to the eaſt of Ivrea [n]. Livy therefore argues, that, had Hannibal croſſed the Pennine Alps into Italy, he could not have come immediately to Turin, as Livy juſtly apprehends him to have done; but muſt have marched by Aoſta, towards Vercelli

[m] Sauſſure iv. 228. "Tite Live—prouve par de tres-bonnes "raiſons, qu'Annibal—paſſa par le Mont-Cenis."

[n] Pliny iii. 17. "Oppida, Vibi Forum, Seguſio, coloniæ "—Auguſta Taurinorum—; dein Salaſſorum Auguſta Præ"toria,—oppidum Eporedia—; Vercellæ Libycorum."

and

and its neighbourhood. This is the very courſe, which we ſee the Roman road acroſs theſe Alps to have actually taken; going from "Summum "Peninum" or Great St. Bernard, to "Auguſtam "Prætoriam" or Aoſta, "Vitricium," Verrex, "Eporædia," Ivrea, and "Vercellas," Vercelli. A Roman road appears from Livy's manner of ſpeaking, to have equally taken the ſame courſe in his time; and, *for that very reaſon*, he concludes Hannibal *not* to have gone over the "Summum "Peninum" or Great St. Bernard, *becauſe* he went to Turin, and *becauſe* the road keeps to the eaſt of Turin, to Ivrea and Vercelli. But he alſo concludes Hannibal *for the very ſame reaſon*, not to have gone over "the ridge of Cremo," the Graian Alps, or Little St. Bernard. Another road of the Romans appears, in the Itinerary of Antonimus, and in the Tables of Peutinger, traverſing *this* portion of the Alps, as I have equally ſhown before; and extending from "Bergintrum," to "In Alpe Graiâ" or the top of Little St. Bernard, to "Auguſtam Prætoriam, "Vitricium, Eporædiam," and "Vercellas." Theſe two roads, therefore, fall into one point at Aoſta, and go in one line from Aoſta to Verrex, Ivrea, and Vercelli. They appear from Livy's *manner*, to have equally done ſo in his time. But in his *matter* he argues, that neither of them could have been the courſe actually purſued by Hannibal, becauſe both would have led him to

the eaſt of his grand object, Turin. His argument thus concludes with equal force, againſt both; and Little as well as Great St. Bernard, if there was any weight in the reaſoning, would be equally deprived of this celebrated march over it.

But indeed the reaſoning carries no weight with it, at all. Though the roads over both theſe Bernardine hills *did* reſpectively puſh away from the Alps, to Aoſta, Ivrea, and Vercelli, in the days of Livy, the Itinerary, and the Tables; yet it is infinitely abſurd to *conclude*, that in thoſe days, or in the days of Hannibal, *no road went from them to Turin*, and that *therefore* Hannibal *could not have marched upon them*. He might undoubtedly have marched upon a part of the road, though he did not proceed through the whole. The whole actually leads to Milan at one end, and to Mentz at the other. Shall it then be reaſoned, as a Livy muſt in congruity reaſon; that Hannibal never went upon the road at all, *becauſe* he did not begin with it at Mentz, and *becauſe* he did not end with it at Milan? He began with it at the point, that was moſt commodious for his purpoſe. He ended with it at the point, where it ceaſed to be commodious any longer. As his entrance upon it from Lyons and the Rhone, ſhows he did not commence his progreſs on it at Mentz; ſo his appearance at Turin juſt after he had deſcended

ſecended from the Alps, ſhows he terminated his advance upon it ſome time before he reached Turin.

But if Hannibal had marched over either of theſe hills, obſerves Livy, he muſt have ranged "through the Salaſſi of the mountains to the "Libui Galli." To this I ſhall *not* reply, that the road over Little St. Bernard did not go at all through "the Salaſſi *of the mountains*," but through the Centrones and the Graioceli; becauſe I ſhall ſoon produce another Roman, carrying this road equally through the Salaſſi; and the Salaſſi muſt conſequently have poſſeſſed a part of the mountains, on the deſcent from Little St. Bernard to Aoſta. But I *ſhall* obſerve, that Hannibal, as we have previouſly ſeen, had been marching many days before he reached Great St. Bernard, through the very mountains of the Salaſſi. He alſo marched through their very mountains again, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, in his route of deſcent from Great St. Bernard. Their poſſeſſions extended to Aoſta and to Ivrea; and, to complete the evidence, at Ivrea actually appears a Roman road in the Tables of Peutinger, as a road actually exiſts at preſent, turning ſhort on the right to thoſe who come from Aoſta, and running directly to Turin*. So abſurd even upon Livy's own pre-

* Second ſegment, and Map of Savoy &c.

miſes,

miſes, does Livy's concluſion appear! So confuſed is he here, in the Alpine Geography of the war! So weak too is he in his reaſonings, even if his geography was clear, and even if his premiſes were certain!

— VI. —

But Livy ends in a ſtill greater ſtrain of weakneſs. "It is improbable," he adds, "that "those roads" over the Pennine Alps and acroſs the ridge of Cremo, "were then open "into Gaule; the one over the Penine, "particularly, being blocked up by na- "tions half German: nor truly, if any "one is influenced perhaps by the name "of this mountain, have the Veragri, the "inhabitants of the hill, ever owned the "name to be given from any passage of "the Pœni across it; but from the God, "to whom they have consecrated a sta- "tue on the very summit of it, and on "whom they confer the appellation of "Peninus [p]."

[p] Livy xxi. 38. "Nec verisimile est, ea tum ad Galliam pa- "tuisse itinera; utique, quæ ad Peninum ferunt, obsessa gen- "tibus semi-germanis fuissent: neque, herculé, montibus his "(si quem fortè id movit) ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Veragri, "incolæ jugi ejus, nôrunt nomen inditum; sed ab eo, quem, "in summo sacratum vertice, Peninum montani appellant."

This

This is all a maſs of inaccuracy, forgetfulneſs, and errour. I ſhall take the trouble of ſeparating, in order to expoſe, the ſeveral parts of it. I ſhall thus be enabled, to give an additional and cloſing confirmation to all my hiſtorical accounts before.

Livy's aſſertion, that the Veragri were the inhabitants of the Pennine Alps; is a ſtrong evidence of what I have noted before, his unſkilfulneſs in the general geography of the regions, through which he has been hitherto conducting Hannibal. The Veragri, as we have already ſeen with the greateſt diſtinctneſs from Cæſar, had no footing within the hills at all. They reſided ſolely on the banks of the Rhone. The Seduni inhabited the hills above; and the Salaſſi ranged behind the Seduni, poſſeſſed the Great St. Bernard, and even owned a large compaſs of the Alps to the north and ſouth of it. All this has been repeatedly ſhown, in the courſe of the preſent work; and all ſerves to convict Livy here, of groſs ignorance. I am ſorry to uſe ſuch language, concerning ſuch a writer; but it is neceſſary, to the aſſertion of the truth and the aſcertainment of the hiſtory. There is a falſe modeſty hanging upon every mind, that comes to examine a writer of Livy's celebrity in the world of hiſtory; which would chill the current of examination, and bind up the critical powers of the judge-

judgement in a kind of froſt; if we are not upon our guard againſt it, if we do not prevent its benumbing influence by continual exerciſe.

The Saláſſi, ſo miſtaken for Veragri, might well not acknowledge their hills, to be denominated the Pennine Alps from the march of the Pœni or Carthaginians over them. Their hills had received their denomination, ages before this march. Yet they had it not, as Livy intimates they had, from the ſtatue of their God Peninus upon Great St. Bernard. They had it, as I have already ſhown, from the very frequent appellative for mountains, in the language of the Celtæ about them. Livy's derivation of the name, indeed, is juſt as petty, poor, and ridiculous; as if a modern ſchool-boy of Britain ſhould imagine the Tarpeian Hill of Rome, to have been called the *Collis Capitolinus* by the Romans, not from its being the *capital* hill of the city, but from the *Jupiter Capitolinus* worſhipped upon it.

Yet, independently of this glaring injudiciouſneſs in Livy, we cannot pay the ſlighteſt deference to his opinion here, for one ſtriking reaſon. He has previouſly argued, that Hannibal could not have marched over the Great or the Little St. Bernard, becauſe the road over either would have carried him wide off the point, to which he actually went. He now argues, that there was then

then no open road at all over either. He is thus, without any conſciouſneſs of his own contradictions, balancing one argument by another, and leaving the reader ſuſpended in air between both. He objects, however, to the paſſage of Hannibal over either. But by what courſe does he take him himſelf? *By no one ſpecified courſe.* He draws no line of his own. He points at none. Yet he expreſſes his ſurprize, that there ſhould be any doubt concerning the actual courſe of Hannibal; and ſtill tells us not, what he thinks his actual courſe to have been. This is ſuch a procedure, as would invalidate his evidence of itſelf; and concurs with the contradictorineſs, nearly to ſuperſede it.

On a cloſe examination indeed of what he ſays, he ſeems to mean the Cottian Alps or Mount Genévre, for the mountains paſſed by Hannibal into Italy. He objects to the Great St. Bernard, as being then "blocked up by nations half "German." This reaſon concludes with greater energy, againſt the more eaſterly paſſage over the Simplon; and with ſtill greater, againſt the ſtill more eaſterly way over St. Gothard. He thus bars up all the roads through the *northern* Alps. Of thoſe in the *weſtern* too, he objects to that over Little St. Bernard, as, equally with that over Great St. Bernard, carrying him wide off his aim, and probably indeed not an open road at the time.

time. He thus brings him as low towards the ſouth, as the Cottian Alps or Mount Genévre. The Roman road over theſe, as we have ſeen before, ſtretched away directly for that terminating object in Livy's viſto of reaſoning, Turin; it going from "Brigantio," Briancon, to "In "Alpe Cottiâ," Mount Genévre, "Seguſio," Suſa, and "Taurinos," Turin. This then was the route, which Livy privately ſuppoſed to have been taken by Hannibal; yet had not confidence enough amidſt his confuſedneſs, to point out by any direct intimation to his reader.

Strabo alſo concurs with him in this, and ſpeaks out boldly upon the point; ſo ſerving to ſhow us more clearly, the half-concealed ſentiments of Livy. "Polybius," ſays Strabo, citing ſome account of the Alps which has now periſhed, "names only "four paſſes over them; that through the *Liguri-* "*ans*, and *neareſt to the Tyrrhene ſea*; that through "the TAURINI, by which HANNIBAL PASSED; then "that through the *Salaſſi*; and the fourth, that "through the Rhœti [q]." This paſſage has been little underſtood, I believe, and has therefore given riſe to ſome groſs errours. The proper mode of explaining it, is by taking Strabo's own

[q] Strabo iv. 319. Τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ποιοῦσι μόνον· διὰ Λιγύων μὲν τῶν ἐγγύτατα τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάττης· διὰ τῶν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας ἦλθεν· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν· τετάρτην δὲ, τὴν διὰ Ῥαιτῶν.

ideas, and adducing Strabo's own words. The firſt and ſecond roads, then, are over the Maritime Alps and acroſs Mount Genévre. In a preceding paſſage Strabo informs us, that "of the "road mentioned" from Spain into Italy, "the "*direct* one to the Alps, as I have already ſaid, "is the *ſhort* one through the *Vocontii*; but that "through the *ſea-coaſt* of Marſeilles and *Liguria*, "is *longer* indeed, yet has the paſſes that go into "Italy more eaſy, the mountains now lowering "themſelves there[r]." The road of the *Vocontii* in the latter paſſage, is plainly the ſame with the way of the *Taurini* in the former; the next on the north, to the Ligurian or Maritime road of both. In a ſecond paſſage preceding, Strabo deſcribes the ſtages on theſe two roads from Spain; noticing the *ſea-coaſt* which is poſſeſſed by the men of Marſeilles, and by the Salyes, as far as the *Ligurians*, up to the ſides of Italy and the ſtream of the Var; tracing the road in this line from the Pyrenees, to Narbonne, to Niſmes, to Beaucaire, Taraſcon, Aix near Marſeilles, Antibes, and the Var; and then adding thus: "upon the *other* road, that through the *Vocontii* "and *the land of Cottius*, as far as Beaucaire and

[r] Strabo iv. 285. Της δ' οδε της λειχθειστης, η μεν ευθυς επι τας Αλπεις εστι, καθαπερ ειπομεν, η συντομος δια Ουοκοντιων· η δε δια της παραλιας της Μασσαλιωτικης και της Λιγυστικης, μακροτερα μεν, τας δ' υπερθεσεις τας εις την Ιταλιαν, ευμαρεστερας εχει, ταπεινουμενων ενταυθα πολη των ορων.

"Taraſcon

" Tarascon the road from Nismes is common, to " it and the other; then up to the *bounds* of the " *Vocontii*, and the beginning of the ascent of the " Alps, over the Durance and through Cavaillon, " sixty-three miles; thence again to the *other* " bounds of the *Vocontii*, and *the land of Cottius*, " a hundred miles wanting one, to the village of " *Embrun*; then through the village of *Briancon*, " Skincomagus, and the pass over the Alps, to " *Ocelum*," Exiles, " the *limit* of *the land of* " *Cottius*, twenty-seven miles [a]." These names point out the Vocontian road demonstrably, to be the road over the Cottian Alps or Mount Genévre, and the very way therefore by which Strabo conducts Hannibal. But, however un-necessary it may be to add to such evidence, yet we may usefully do so; superfluity indeed being never necessary in itself, and yet frequently useful in reasoning to the generality of minds. Polybius's road " through the Salassi," is equally explained

[a] Strabo iv. 270. Κατα δε την ετεραν οδον, την δια Ουοκοντιων και της Κοντιου [Κοττιου]· μεχρι μεν ων Γερνου [Ουγερνου] και Ταρασκωνος, κοινη οδος η απο Νεμαυσου· εντευθεν δε επι μεν τους Ουοκοντιων ορους, και την αρχην της αναβασεως των Αλπεων, δια Δρουεντιας και Καβαλλιωνος, μιλια εξηκοντα τρια· παλιν δ'εντευθεν επι τους ετερους ορους των Ουοκοντιων, προς την Κοττιου, μιλια εκατον ενος δεοντα, εις Επεβροδουνον [Εβροδουνον] κωμην· ειτ' αλλοι τοσουτοι [two words, as I have formerly noted, totally superfluous and greatly embarrassing] δια Βριγαντιου κωμης, εκ [a word equally noted before as superfluous and embarrassing] Σκιγγομαγου, και της των Αλπεων υπερθεσεως, επι Ωκελον, το περας της Κοττιου γης,—μιλια κ ζ.

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by another paſſage in Strabo before, and only a little way before. "Of the paſſes overthe mountains that lead out of Italy, into Tranſalpine "Gaule and the northern regions," he tells us, "*that through the Salaſſi* leads to *Lyons*; but it is "DOUBLE: one, capable of receiving wheel-"carriages, and being much the longer, that "through the *Centrones*; and the direct, narrow "way, but ſhort, that over the *Pœnine* [t]." Strabo equally informs us in another place, that, "when "you go out of Italy to croſs the Alps, in the "valley below them THE ROAD DIVIDES IN TWO; "one part paſſes over what is called the *Pœnine*, "acroſs the tops of the Alps; the other *more* "*weſterly*, through the region of the *Centrones* [u]." We thus find Polybius's road "through the Sa-"laſſi," to mean equally that over *Little*, and that over *Great*, St. Bernard; juſt as Livy argues before againſt Hannibal's paſſing over either, becauſe either would have led him *through the Salaſſi*. The Salaſſi poſſeſſed both theſe branches, of the road to Lyons; that over the Pennine Alps, to

[t] Strabo iv. 318. Των δ'υπερθεσεων των εκ της Ιταλιας, εις την εξω Κελτικην και την προσαρκτιον, η δια Σαλασσων εστιν αγουσα επι Λουγδουνον· διττη δ'εστιν· η μεν αμαξευεσθαι δυναμενη, δια μηκους πλειονος, η δια Κεντρωνων· η δε ορθια και στενη, συντομος δε, η δια του Ποινινου. P. 314. Ζευγεσιν ου Βατη.

[u] Strabo iv. 314. Τοις ουν εκ της Ιταλιας υπερτιθεισι τα ορη, δια του λεχθεντος αυλωνος εστιν η οδος· ειτα σχιζεται διχα· και η μεν δια του Ποινινου λεγομενου Φερεται—κατα τα ακρα των Αλπεων· η δε δια Κεντρωνων δυσμικωτερα.

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the very ſummit, but that over the Graian, only a little way up the ſides of the mountains; the Centrones, as the conquerours of the Graioceli, occupying the ſummit of the Graian, and being therefore ſaid expreſsly by Strabo in another place, to live "on the heights above the Salaſſi[v]." Strabo's or Polybius's road "through the Tau-"rini," then, appears with a double demonſtration to mean the way over Mount Genévre, which came from the country of the Vocontii, went over the Alps of Cottius, and fell down directly to Turin. This road Strabo characterizes expreſsly, as that "by which Hannibal marched;" thus throws a light upon Livy, by coinciding in ſentiments with him; illuſtrates the dubious and dark language of Livy, by his own clearneſs and explicitneſs; and unites with him, to carry Hannibal over Mount Genévre.

But Livy little conſidered becauſe of his confuſedneſs, and Strabo perhaps was not ſufficiently an hiſtorian to know; that though this was the direct road in their time, from the lower part of the Rhone to Turin, yet it was no road at all in the time of Hannibal. This portion of the Alps, as I have ſhown before, firſt received a road acroſs

[v] Strabo iv. 313. Υπερ δε τουτων [Σαλασσων] εν ταις κορυφαις, Κελτωνες.

it in the days of Auguſtus; when indeed theſe Alps were ſtill governed by their own Sovereign, but when the Sovereign was ſo much in alliance with Auguſtus, as to take the name of *Marcus Julius*, to erect a Roman arch in honour of the Emperour, and to conſtruct Roman roads acroſs the country, for the accommodation of the Emperour's ſubjects.

Thus does Livy's own argument, which he preſſes with ſuch imaginary force againſt Great St. Bernard, turn with a real energy againſt Mount Genévre and himſelf. *This* had certainly no formed road, in the days of Hannibal; while *that* as certainly had one in the days of Cæſar, one in the days of Young Pompey before, and the very one, that Pompey and his cotemporary countrymen knew Hannibal to have uſed. Livy therefore does not aſſert before, that it is improbable the two roads over Great and Little St. Bernard were then opened into Gaule, becauſe he knew *that* to have been opened before the days of Cæſar; and only intimates in language which would accommodate itſelf to both, that the road over *Great* St. Bernard was not then open, as "blocked up by nations half German," and that the road over *Little* St. Bernard was equally not open, as having been formed at a period poſteriour to Hannibal. He thus allows the *antiquity* of

of the *Pennine Way*; and, by the allowance, precludes almoſt all his own reaſonings againſt Hannibal's uſe of it. The "nations half Ger-"man," that he ſuppoſes to have then "blocked "it up," were no more formidable *in the days of Hannibal*, than nations wholly Gallick; and could have become ſo to the mind of a Roman, only *ſince* the Gauls were ſubdued entirely by Cæſar, *ſince* the Roman arms had advanced to the frontiers of Germany, and *ſince* the Germans had riſen into great formidableneſs, by the ſurprize of Varus and his legions. But Livy intimates the paſs to have been blocked, by "nations half "German;" from another conſuſion, one equally in reaſoning and in geography. He had heard the Vallais to be peopled by nations, half of them Germans and half of them Gauls; and he confounded this propoſition with the very different one, that theſe nations were all of them half Gallick and half Germanick. He thus applied the intelligence to the Weſtern Half, who were wholly Gallick; and blocked up the paſs at Martigny in it with nations half Germanick, that exiſted as Germans only to the caſt, and there exiſted wholly Germanick. The preſent ſtate of language in the Vallais, points out this very ſignificantly to the preſent day. "The *higheſt* part "of the Vallais," ſays that beſt of witneſſes Simler, "hath retained *its old inhabitants* and *its* "*German language*; the uſe of the French, or Ro-

" man, is introduced *every where elſe* [w]." Or, as he ſays a little before, " the *Veragri* inhabit the " *loweſt* valley; their region, *from the river Morge* " *to the jaws by which the Rhone eſcapes out of the* " *Vallais*, being now called *the Lower Vallais*:— " in our time the *Veragri* ſpeak *the French or Sa-* " *voyard language*, which they themſelves deno- " minate the *Roman* [x]." Thus the *Lower* Vallais appears to have been originally Celtick, in its inhabitants and in its language; and ſo, in conſequence of the Roman conqueſt, changed its Celtick, like Gaule and Spain, for the preſent French and the original Latin. We thus ſee the confuſion in Livy's geographical ideas, rectified by the living hiſtory of language; and the nations of half or whole Germans, with which he bars up the Pennine Way to Hannibal, removed conſi-

[w] Simler 78. " Suprema pars Valleſiæ, veteres incolas, " linguam quoque Germanicam, retinuit; alibi linguæ Gal- " licæ, ſeu Romanæ, uſus introductus eſt."

[x] Simler 77. " Veragri imam vallem inhabitant; a Morſiâ " flumine ad fauces uſque quà Rhodanus egreditur, Inferiorem " Valleſiam eorum regionem hodie nuncupant.—Noſtrâ ætate " Veragri Gallicâ linguâ ſive Sabaudicâ utuntur, quam ipſi " Romanam vocant." See alſo p. 66, miſ-printed 86. Coxe iii. 279 has much about the *Romanſh*, as he ſays it is called; but nothing half ſo definitive or clear, I preſume, as this ſhort account. Coxe had never ſeen Simler's Deſcription of the Vallais; and it is not in his catalogue of books conſulted, ii. 406. Aſtronomers ſee not the ſtones over which they ſtumble, while they are contemplating the ſtars.

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derably to the eaſt of it[7]. So plainly has Livy acknowledged the Pennine Way, to be a regular road in the time of Hannibal; and ſo feebly does he attempt to block it up, to the entrance of the Carthaginians! As to the ſiſter-road over Little St. Bernard being then not open*ed*, Livy is undoubtedly right in the ſuppoſition, but wrong in the application, and infinitely wrong in applying it as a *ſuppoſition* only. This road, as I have ſhown before, was formed when the road over Mount Genévre was, *a very few years* only before Livy wrote, and within the memory of himſelf and his cotemporaries. Yet he avers not the fact, of its then being an un-opened road; but ſuggeſts merely the probability, that it was ſo. So uncertain is Livy, in the very incidents of his own period! So treacherous is his memory, or ſo imperfect are his notices, even of the moſt recent and the moſt publick events! Livy comes down to the road over Mount Genévre, which was made together with the way over Little St. Bernard, made equally therefore within memory; and, in a raſhneſs as violent now as his modeſty before was exceſſive, ſuppoſes this very recent way to be the very road of Hannibal.

[7] The Germans of the Upper Valley, in 1475 (Coxe i. 382), reduced the Gauls of the Lower, and have kept them ever ſince in ſubjection.

Strabo

Strabo comes after him, and copies his closing absurdity. He supposes the way over Mount Genévre, to have been trodden by Hannibal; though he expressly acknowledges Augustus, to have constructed roads over the Alps[z]; and though all the antient men of Rome could have told him, this was one of them. He expressly calls the Alps of Great St. Bernard, not the Penine or the Pennine, but the Pœnine and the Pœnene, as denominated from the Pœni; and is indeed the earliest writer that we now have, personally calling them so; yet never brings the Pœni over them. He speaks too of the road "through the Centrones," or over Little St. Bernard, as being "capable of receiving wheel-"carriages," and, from his appropriation of the character to this road exclusively, as the only one so capable; yet he carries Hannibal with all his wheel-carriages, not over this but another road. So much does Strabo vie in contradictoriness and confusion, with Livy himself! Yet this is not all. Strabo has plainly confounded the Pennine and the Graian Ways together, in this circumstance concerning the admission of wheel-carriages; and attributed that to the latter, which he designed for the former. The way from *Italy* over the Alps to *Lyons* "is double," he says, because "in the valley below them it divides into

[z] Strabo 313. "two."

"two [a]." For "one part goes—westerly through "the region of the Centrones," or over Little St. Bernard; "capable of *receiving wheel-carriages*; "and being MUCH THE LONGER," which *this notoriously is not*, and which *the next as notoriously is* [b]. This next "goes over what is called the Pœnine," and "is the DIRECT and narrow way [c];" as narrow, it is incapable of admitting wheel-carriages; as direct, "it is SHORT" also [d]. These two touches of the pencil form a feature in the description, which shows at once a mistake in the mountain; when *that* road over *Little* St. Bernard turns "westerly," to push directly for Lyons; when *this* over *Great* St. Bernard, takes a sweeping circuit by Martigny and along the Rhone to it, and is one third longer at least than *that*. The asserted length and shortness of the two ways respectively, shows demonstrably a shuffle to have taken place in the names and qualities of the ways; the Graian to have been substituted for the Pennine, and the Pennine for the Graian, with some of the qualities of the one transferred over to the other; the "westerly" road over *Little* St.

[a] Strabo 318. Η δια Σαλασσων εστιν αγουσα επι Λουγδουνον· διστη δ' εστιν; 314. Δια του λεχθεντος αυλωνος εστιν η οδος· ειτα σχιζεται διχα.

[b] Strabo 314. Η δε δια Κεντρωνων δυσμικωτερα. P. 318. Η μεν αμαξευεσθαι δυναμενη, δια μηκους πλειονος, η δια Κεντρωνων.

[c] Strabo 318. Η δε ορθια και στενη,—η δια του Ποινινου.

[d] Strabo 318. Συντομος δε η δια του Ποινινου.

Bernard

Bernard being meant, as "narrow," as "ſhort," and as "direct" to Lyons, but the road over *Great* St. Bernard, as "capable of receiving "wheel-carriages," and "much the longer." We thus annihilate at once all the difficulties, that this paſſage of Strabo has created againſt the march of Hannibal by Great St. Bernard. We ſee him confounded, by ſome caſual miſ-arrangement of his notices; thrown off from the road that *they* deſcribed, as the only one capable of receiving wheel-carriages; unable to reſt upon the road of Little St. Bernard, becauſe perhaps he *ſuſpected* ſome miſ-arrangement in them; therefore noting incidentally, and as from Polybius only, whom we are ſure he has moſt groſsly miſ-repreſented, that Hannibal marched over Mount Genévre. We thus contemplate him as a fair reflection from the mirrour of Livy, like him beaten off from the point of truth, like him embarraſſed, perplexed, and dubious; but, like him too, reſting at laſt, though only with the tip of a ſingle toe, on the ſummit of Mount Genévre, fearful even of touching the ground with that, and ready to flutter away every moment.

— VII. —

YET after all, and when hypotheſis is brought to the teſt of narration, how does Livy actually carry

carry Hannibal? Does his hiſtory move, in correſpondence with his reaſonings? Does he actually take Hannibal at once, from his paſſage acroſs the Rhone, to Briancon almoſt directly before him, to Mount Genévre, and to Turin? To be ſure, he does. Every power of conſiſtency, and every principle of propriety, requires that he ſhould. Nor can a Livy, even in the moments of victorious weakneſs, act ſo weakly; as to form a ſpeculation contradictory to his own narrative, and engage his arguments in an open hoſtility with his facts. Yet with a ſigh of friendſhip over an hiſtorian, whom I have found ſo eminently uſeful to me; whom I have frequently felt coming in as a powerful auxiliary to my aid, when Polybius had ſhrunk from my ſide; I am obliged to acknowledge, that Livy is weak enough at theſe inauſpicious moments of writing, to do all this. His very narration daſhes all his ſpeculation aſide. Conjecture may weave her web of reaſoning, and Fancy may throw her wanton colours over it, to miſlead the minds equally of the author and of his readers; but facts are thoſe ſtubborn elements of matter, which will not be molded to the purpoſes of Conjecture, and will not aſſume the diſguiſes of Fancy. Hiſtory muſt move in the heavy harneſs of a Roman legionary, ſteady, diſciplined, and ir-reſiſtible; while Fancy and Conjecture are only the light-armed, light-heeled *Velites*, that may provoke a battle, but can never ſuſtain an attack.

attack. Livy accordingly moves in the ſober trammels of incident, very differently from the courſe that he takes in his flight among the clouds. He conducts Hannibal with Polybius up the Rhone to Lyons, leads him with Polybius to Geneva, and brings him with Polybius to the northern Alps. He therefore carries him over thoſe very Pennine Mountains, which he is now labouring to prove that Hannibal never croſſed; and half the range of Alps off from thoſe very Cottian Mountains, acroſs which he heſitatingly and darkly inſinuates him now to have paſſed. Such is Livy, at this peculiar point of his hiſtory!

---------- Like Bellerophon,
He bears his own indictment.

But let us puſh this hiſtorical reaſoning againſt him, to its full and final concluſion. The roads over Great and Little St. Bernard, Livy thinks it probable, were not *then* open into Gaule. This is a plain indication, as I have formerly intimated, and as Strabo now concurs to prove; that they were *both* open in the days of Livy. Pliny comes in with a ſimilar indication, when he places Aoſta "near *the two mouths* of the Alps, the Graian "and the Pœnine[r]." The Alps

There op'd their ponderous and marble jaws,

[r] Pliny iii. 17. "Juxta geminas Alpium fauces, Graias at-"que Pœninas."

in

in the two roads through them. They alſo opened their jaws equally, at the Cottian and at the Maritime Alps. All theſe openings but one, were made in the days of Strabo, in the days of Livy, and in the reign of Auguſtus. That one was what Cæſar had noted half a century before, as *the* road through the Alps, as *the* way which was much frequented by the traders, and as *the* paſs by which were conveyed great ſtores of merchandize to and from Italy. This was alſo the very road, by which ALL THE GAULS OF ITALY HAD COME INTO THE COUNTRY, for ages before Hannibal; and this was the very road too, by which LIVY HIMSELF BRINGS THEM THITHER. Thus are the Pennine Mountains the firſt of the Alpine, that emerged from the deluge of the unhiſtorical ages of Europe; lifting up their heads juſt over the ſurface of the water, and attracting the attention of man, while the other heights of the Alps were buried beneath the ſurface, till a receſs had taken place for ages, and laid them equally bare to the view.

In all this march, as I have repeatedly obſerved before, Hannibal was under the guidance of Magalus the King, and of thoſe Kings of the Boii who came with Magalus to Hannibal, as embaſſadours from ſome of the Gallick States of Italy. They all came from the banks of the Po [f],

[f] Polybius iii. 44, Livy xxi. 25, Pliny iii. 15 and 17.

to

to meet him on his croſſing the Rhone. They knew well the road, by which they had come to him at this point. They knew alſo the road, by which their forefathers had gone out of Gaule originally, to ſettle along the borders of the Po. They therefore meant to carry Hannibal by the very ſame way, at preſent. "Theſe very em-" baſſadours whom ye behold," cries Hannibal to his army *even in Livy's own hiſtory*, were "not "tranſported over *the Alps* on wings; nor did "their anceſtors, the natives of their country, "and the fixers of their nation in Italy, paſs "ſafely on wings over THESE VERY ALPS, when "they croſſed them frequently in great armies, "accompanied in the manner of emigrants with "their wives and children [g]." The embaſſadours therefore came, and their anceſtors went, by that avenue through the Alps betwixt Gaule and Italy, by which the former were now conducting Hannibal. Accordingly Polybius, ſpeaking of ſome hiſtorians before him, who gave a wild and miraculous air to Hannibal's march acroſs the mountains, ſays they knew not from hiſtory; "that the Gauls, WHO DWELL ALONG "THE RIVER RHONE, not merely *once* or *twice*

[g] Livy xxi. 30. "Eos ipſos quos cernunt legatos, non pen-" nis ſublimé elatos Alpes tranſgreſſos; ne majores quidem, " eorum indigenas, ſed advenas Italiæ cultores, has ipſas Al-" pes ingentibus ſæpe agminibus, cum liberis et conjugibus " migrantium modo, tutò tranſmiſiſſe."

" before *the arrival of Hannibal*, and not in *antient* " *times* only, but *very lately*, had paſſed over the " Alps with great armies, and, coming as aux- " iliaries to the Gauls INHABITING THE PLAINS " ABOUT THE Po, had encountered the Ro- " mans [h]." Livy alſo corroborates all, in a particular account of theſe firſt irruptions of the Gauls into Italy; bringing them plainly by the ſame road, by which he brings Hannibal over the Alps; even carrying them expreſsly, to our aſtoniſhment at his confuſed memory in the preſent part of his hiſtory, over *the Pennine Alps* themſelves.

We have ſeen him conducting Hannibal before, " into the country of the TRICASTINI;" in his way from Lyons to the Alps [i]. We ſhall now

[h] Polybius iii. 48. Τους Κελτους, τους παρα τον Ροδανον ποταμον οικουντας, απαξ ηδη δις προ της Αννιβου παρουσιας, ηδη μεν παλαι, προσφατως δε, μεγαλοις στρατοπεδοις υπερβαντας τας Αλπεις, παραπεπλαχθαι μεν Ρωμαιοις, συναγωνιστασθαι δε Κελτοις τοις τα περι τον Παδον πεδια κατοικουσιν. " The Gauls, that lived along the Rhone, had *often* " paſſed thoſe mountains. And even *not long* before the time " of Hannibal, they had led *a* very numerous army over them, " to join the *Ciſalpine* Gauls in their wars againſt the Romans" (i. 351). This has ſo little of what Polybius ſays, and is ſo unlike in its *manner* where it ſays what he does; that I can expoſe it only, by appealing to the literal verſion of his words above, and requeſting my reader to collate it with Mr. Hampton's.

[i] Livy xxi. 31. " In Tricaſtinos flexit."

ſee him equally conducting the firſt Gauls, that he allows to have croſſed the Alps into Italy, through the ſame country. From that ſpirit of reſtleſsneſs and adventure, which we ſee at times in the giddy part of our own young men, but which attends all ſtages of life and all diſpoſitions of mind, in an un-civilized ſtate of ſociety; keeping man without any proper *aſcription to the glebe* on which he lives, rendering motion neceſſary to gratify the ſallies of his blood, and making even the caſualties of war a requiſite amuſement to his un-occupied mind; Belloveſus, ſiſter's ſon to Ambigatus King of the Bituriges in Gaule, was ſent by him to penetrate into Italy, and ſeize ſome new lands there, at a time when Gaule was ſo little overſtocked with its own multitudes, that almoſt half the region was covered with foreſts. The Gauls undoubtedly promiſed themſelves warmer ſuns and brighter ſkies, than they had in their own country; lands more amenable to the ſpade or plough, or luxuriating in a greater ſtore of graſs; and what would equally excite minds not diſciplined to ſentiments of juſtice, not ſubdued to habits of compaſſion, as fond of indolence as they were prone to war, and ever fluctuating betwixt the flood-tide of war and the ebb-tide of indolence, cattle which they had not reared, harveſts which they had not ſown, and cities which they had not built. On theſe united motives, Belloveſus "began his march," ſays Livy,

Livy, "with a vaſt army of horſe and foot, and "came into the country"—of whom?—"of the "TRICASTINI [k]." But Livy *then* conſidered the Tricaſtini, as extending all along the Rhone *to the Alps*; in his very next words ſubjoining, that "*there* the Alps croſſed their march [l]." Livy therefore referred *then* to all the tribes, which range in his hiſtory of Hannibal from the Tricaſtini to the Alps, two of them with names, and the reſt without; under the general name of Tricaſtini. He thus brings the Gauls to the Alps, juſt as he has brought Hannibal before.

Theſe Alps "indeed," adds Livy, "I wonder "not to have been conſidered as un-ſurmount-"able, when (according to the ſettled tradition, "unleſs we chuſe to credit the fables concerning "Hercules) they *had never yet been ſurmounted by* "*the foot of travellers* [m]." But theſe Gauls appear evidently from their march towards the point, to have heard there was a chaſm in the face of one of the mountains near the Rhone, which promiſed an acceſs into the heart of the Alps, and held out a hope of a paſſage over

[k] Livy v. 34. "Profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque "copiis, in Tricaſtinos venit."

[l] Ibid. "Alpes inde oppoſitæ erant."

[m] Ibid. "Alpes—inexſuperabiles viſas haud equidem miror, "nullâ dum viâ (quod quidem continens memoria ſit, niſi de "Hercule fabulis credere libet) ſuperatas."

them into Italy. To minds keen on the queſt of adventure, a ſlight promiſe and a feeble hope would be ſufficient, for the march of an army. "There," as Livy goes on in a train of ideas that is very amuſing to our hiſtorical fancies, "the height of the hills kept the Gauls, as it "were, incloſed awhile; and they looked around "to ſee, by what avenue they could paſs over the "Heaven-touching pikes into another globe [n]." They ſaw this grand chaſm formed by the Drance. They boldly ventured in, with all their wives and children; explored their blind way up, by the channel of the Drance; and ſo reached its ſpring-head, on the top of Great St. Bernard [o]. In this manner and at this period, was the road up to Great St. Bernard firſt found, and became the one only paſs through the Alps for ages afterward. But, in the language of Livy, "they mounted "over the Alps through the country of the "TAURINI, and through foreſts unpaſſed before; "became the Inſubres of Italy, and laid the "foundation of Milan [p]." Here we have the clear evidence of Livy himſelf, for the paſſage of

[n] Livy v. 34. "Ibi, quum velut ſeptos montium altitudo "teneret Gallos, circumſpectarentque quânam per junctа "cœlo juga in alium orbem terrarum tranſirent."

[o] See map prefixed to Sauſſure, vol. iii.

[p] Livy v. 34. "Ipſi per Taurinos, ſaltuſque invios, Alpes "tranſcenderunt;—cognomine Inſubribus pago—condidêre "urbem, Mediolanum appellârunt."

the

the firſt Gauls that ever came into Italy, acroſs the *Pennine Alps* into it. Having the extremities of their line of motion, the Tricaſtini upon one ſide and the Taurini on the other, expreſsly ſpecified to us; we know the intermediate points, of courſe. Livy thus appears carrying and conducting his firſt army acroſs the Alps, from Bourges in the Dutchy of Berry, the capital of the Bituriges, and conſiderably to the north of Lyon; *by* the ſame region on the Gallick ſide of the mountains, by which he conducts the Carthaginians; and *to* the ſame country on the Italian ſide, *into* which he carries the Carthaginians. Yet, forgetful of all this, he objects to thoſe who bring Hannibal—juſt as he brings him; alledges this paſs over the Alps to have been probably blocked up, in the days of Hannibal, "by na-"tions half German," when theſe nations plainly appear in this part of his own hiſtory, to have been actually Gauls; and argues Hannibal *not* to have gone by this paſs, *becauſe* the road from it would have carried him *up to Milan* and *off from the Taurini*, when he himſelf had previouſly led theſe Gauls by it, through the *Taurini* and to *Milan* expreſsly. Such an amazing proof ſuddenly ſtarts up under our hand here, of Livy's total neglect of recurrence to his own ideas and his own facts, in the prior parts of his hiſtory! So fully, too, does this ſingle incident prove the uſe of the Pennine Way, as the firſt, the natural,

the only road up the Alps; in thoſe earlieſt times of antiquity, which the teleſcope of hiſtory can ſhow to us in Gaule! Livy indeed was groſsly miſled in his reaſoning, by an occaſional miſtake in his geography; and momentarily conſidered thoſe as lying wide of the road from Great St. Bernard to Milan, whom he had previouſly placed himſelf upon the very crown of the road, and who were ſo placed undoubtedly by the hiſtorical records from which he wrote.

But let us examine the next irruption of Gauls into Italy, which is recorded by Livy. "A little "while afterwards," adds this hiſtorian immediately to his account preceding, "another army" of emigrants, "compoſed of the Cenomanni" from the dioceſs of Mans probably, the province of Maine, and the very borders of Bretagné [q], "under the conduct of Elitovius, FOLLOWED THE "STEPS OF THE PRECEDING ARMY, paſſed the "Alps BY THE SAME FOREST with the aſſiſtance "of Belloveſus, ſeized the country of the Libui, "and ſettled on the ſites of the preſent Breſcia "and Verona," beyond or to the eaſt of Milan [r]. This ſecond army of coloniſts therefore, equally

[q] D'Anville at *Aulerci*.

[r] Livy v. 35. "Alia ſubinde manus Cenomannorum, Eli-"tovio duce, veſtigia priorum ſecuta, eôdem ſaltu, favente "Belloveſo, quum tranſcendiſſet Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac "Verona urbes ſunt (loca tenuêre Libui) conſidunt."

with

with the firſt, paſſed through the Tricaſtini to the Alps, entered theſe at the grand chink which the Drance had worked out for itſelf near Martigny, mounted up them by the grand hollow which the Drance had equally formed for its own uſe, and ſo turned the trough of its waters into an uſeful road again. They thus aſcended the Pennine Alps, thus deſcended them through the country of the Taurini, and thus paſſed through the Inſubres of Milan to Breſcia and Verona. Yet Livy urges, that Hannibal *could not* have marched over the Pennine Alps, becauſe he did not deſcend upon the Inſubres of Milan to the *eaſt*, but upon the Taurini to the *weſt*; while he himſelf makes theſe Cenomanni come down from thoſe very Alps, to the Taurini, to the Inſubres, and even to the *eaſt* of the *latter*. Never ſurely was a writer more completely refuted in his reaſonings, than Livy thus is by his own facts. He falls upon his own ſword, he dies by his own hand, and may exclaim with the ſullen ſatisfaction of triumphant ſuicide in Ajax,

Ut nemo Ajacem poſſit ſuperare niſi Ajax.

Livy immediately ſubjoins a third irruption out of Gaule into Italy; but notes no circumſtance, that ſerves to aſcertain the particular funnel of the Alps, by which the gathering ſtorm diſcharged

itſelf out of one country into the other. He only ſays thus: "after theſe, the Salluvii ſettle "near that ancient nation the Lævi Ligures, "who inhabit about the river Ticino[s]." This account however, following inſtantly after the other two, and pointing at no other channel of conveyance, certainly implies the old one to have been uſed again. That terminating point of the whole invaſion too, the ſettlement of the invaders upon the Ticino, corroborates this reaſoning; this emigrant army journeying with both the others into the neighbourhood of Milan, and ſo advancing from the Pennine Alps to Ticinum or Pavia, a few miles ſouth-weſt of Milan[t].

But even this ſlight ambiguity in Livy, is directly changed into a full explicitneſs. The darkneſs of the oracle burſts out into ample light; and Livy tells us in expreſs terms, that the fourth irruption was over the Pennine Alps. "Then "the Boii and the Lingones," he relates, "croſſed "THE PENINE MOUNTAIN; and, as all the region "betwixt the Alps and the Po was already ſeized, "wafting themſelves over the Po upon floats, "they drove not only the Etruſci, but the Umbri,

[s] Livy v. 35. "Poſt hos Salluvii [confidunt], propè anti-"quam gentem Lævos Ligures, incolentes circa Ticinum "amnem."

[t] Pliny iii. 17. "Levi—condidêre Ticinum."

"out

"out of the country[u]." They firſt ſettled, to ſpeak with greater preciſion from Pliny, on the northern ſide of the Po, at Lodi a little to the *ſouth-eaſt* of Milan; then, according to another paſſage in Livy himſelf, ſtretched on to Cremona upon the Po, a little farther to the *ſouth-eaſt*, and to the ſouth of Breſcia; *afterwards*, finding their quarters there too confined for their numbers, floated themſelves over the Po[v]. For this laſt act Livy himſelf aſſigns a reaſon, which ſhows the three colonies before to have paſſed by the ſame way, into the ſame region. "All the country *betwixt the Alps and the Po* was "*already* ſeized," by the three colonies preceding; except only a narrow portion on the ſouth, which the fourth ſeized, and found ſo narrow, as to venture over the confining Po upon the precarious embarcation of floats, in order to procure an addition of room. This notice unites with the mention of the Pennine Alps, as the very courſe by which the fourth migrated over the mountains; to bind the half-vague and half-fluctuating account of the third, to hiſtory and the two others.

[u] Livy v. 35. "Penino deinde Boii Lingoneſque tranſgreſſi, "quum jam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, "Pado ratibus trajecto, non Etruſcos modò, ſed etiam Um-"bros, agro pellunt."

[v] Pliny iii. 17. "Condidêre—Boii, trans Alpes profecti, "Laudem Pompeiam;" and Livy xxi. 25. for Cremona.

Quam

Quam pius Arcitenens oras et littora circum
Errantem, Mycone celsâ Gyaroque revinxit,
Immotamque coli dedit, et contemnere ventos.

But that this fourth army "croſſed THE PENINE MOUNTAIN" to come into Italy, is expreſsly affirmed (we muſt remember) by the very hiſtorian; who, in a paroxyſm of aſtoniſhing forgetfulneſs, ventures to ſuppoſe afterwards, that this way was *blocked up* in the days of Hannibal, by nations half German; and therefore preſumes to take Hannibal by a road, actually non-exiſtent at the time, and actually proved to be non-exiſtent by the higheſt of all teſtimonies. This poſitive declaration of his own in an earlier period of his hiſtory, removes at once to the reader all his poſteriour doubts, and ſhould have precluded them for ever in the writer by anticipation. It particularly throws a deciſive luſtre of light, upon all his three accounts before; diſpells the ſhade of his Tricaſtinian route; and illuminates the gloom of his Taurinian woods. It thus enables us to determine with the energy of demonſtration from all, that the Boii and Lingones, the Salluvii, Cenomanni, and Bituriges, all entered by the ſame avenue of nature into the boſom of the Alps, all mounted by the ſame road of nature to the ſummit of the Alps, and all came down from the ſame Alps of the Pennine to the ſame region of the Taurini, with Hannibal himſelf.

— VIII. —

— VIII. —

HANNIBAL then went into the Alps by that grand channel of communication, which the Tricaſtini had firſt explored, which the Cenomanni had next traverſed, and the Salluvii, Boii, Lingones had ſucceſſively uſed afterwards. Thus the very Boii, who were now conducting his army, had actually gone along it themſelves on their original emigration into Italy. The Senones alſo, who, as Livy tells us, were "the laſt of "theſe emigrants," and, as Polybius informs us, had paſſed the Alps "very lately" before Hannibal; equally croſſed the Alps, as the Boii informed Hannibal on the banks of the Rhone, in the ſame direction that the fathers of theſe Boii had gone, that they themſelves had come, and that they meant to carry Hannibal [w].

In theſe repeated expeditions acroſs Great St. Bernard, the primitive road had undoubtedly been improved by the hand of art, and transferred from the bed to the bank of the Drance; thus avoiding the conſtant embarraſſments of the ſtream, and the occaſional obſtructions of the

[w] Livy v. 35. "Senones, recentiſſimi advenarum;" Polybius iii. 48. πρόσφατος; Livy xxi. 30. "Has ipſas Alpes," and "eos ipſos quos cernunt legatos."

floods;

floods; yet ſtill keeping, as the road to this day keeps, cloſe to the channel. It thus became at laſt what Strabo, corrected, deſcribes it to be in his time, and what we ſee it to have actually been in the march of Hannibal, a road capable of receiving wheel-carriages. The firſt explorers of it muſt certainly have aſcended the mountains, without any poſſibility of introducing carriages upon it, and with their wives, their children, all riding in the center of their motlied army, upon the little horſes of Gaule; exhibiting a ſcene of military movement, that could not have been very uncommon in thoſe ages of colonial irruptions, yet muſt ſeem peculiarly pictureſque and ſtriking to our fancies at preſent.

Accordingly we ſee Hannibal at the entrance, not ſtruggling along the channel of the Drance, but ſtraining up a narrow and rocky road by the ſide of it, and having his loaded cars, his burdened horſes, in the confuſion tumble down the precipice into it. We again ſee him at the hill of ambuſcade, not attempting the impracticable work of mounting up the high fall of the Drance, but aſcending the hill from the current by a road along the declivity. We finally behold him, in the region between this hill and the regular road, not taking the bed of a river for the courſe of his movements, but wandering with dubious ſteps along the wilds, raſhly entering vallies by conjecture,

jecture, and obliged to return becauſe he could find no way through them. Thoſe therefore, who have carried Hannibal along the trough of a river in his paſſage over the Alps, have ſuffered their imaginations to uſurp upon their judgments, have turned the realities of hiſtory into the dreams of fancy, and have confounded the march of Hannibal with the migration of Belloveſus.

But, by a very extraordinary receſs in the flowing tide of Alpine improvements, the original mode of conveyance over the Alps has been generally recurred to by our own times. The ſaddle-horſe is again uſed. Nor is *any paſs over the Alps now travelled in carriages*, from the Weſt of Europe; except that at Mount Cenis, which did not uſe to be travelled at all, and that at Mount Genévre, which has been long travelled. At Mount Cenis indeed, as we all know, the inhabitants take the chaiſe in pieces at the foot of the mountain, tranſport the pieces over the mountain on the back of mules, and then unite them on the other ſide again; while the traveller himſelf has the very extraordinary conveyance, of a wicker chair with a foot-ſtool and poles to it. This Alpine uſe of chairs was not long ſince, I apprehend, familiar upon Great St. Bernard too, was practiſed there (I ſuſpect) before it was adopted at Mount Cenis, and is ſtill retained upon ſome Alps adjoining, not merely where carriages

are

are uſed, but where ſaddle-horſes are[x]. Thus the modern modes of paſſing the Alps are much leſs hardy and reſolute, leſs full of enterprize, and leſs commanding of ſucceſs, than the antient. Hannibal could mount to the very ſummit of the Alps at Great St. Bernard, with all his long train of military carriages; when one of our own travellers cannot do ſo any where at preſent, except at Mount Genévre, with only a ſingle chaiſe. This forms a ſtrong contraſte, between the rough and painful exertions of labour, neceſſary to an antient traveller over theſe mountains, and the luxurious eaſe, with which a modern croſſes them at preſent. Nor does *a loaded cart* ever preſume to paſs the Alps in *any* point, at preſent. Yet let not the contraſte throw a ſhade of ſuſpectability over the hiſtory, as it may be likely to do; criticiſm often ſtarting back from antient facts, when it finds them ſo different from the modern, and ſo compreſſing the military vigour of paſt ages, into the puny exertions of preſent travelling.

[x] Miſſon i. 66. "I go over the mountain of Great St. "Bernard, then covered with ſnow: here I give a deſcription "of that mountain, and of the manner *of going over it*, which "is *ſomething ſingular*." Coxe i. 372. In the way up the Gemmi, a chain of mountains ſeperating the Canton of Berne from the Vallais, "the road continued good, as far as the vil- "lage of Kanderſteg; from whence delicate travellers, who "do not chuſe to mount a rugged aſcent, either on foot or on "horſeback, *are carried in an arm-chair ſupported by means of* "*poles upon men's ſhoulders*."

Nor

Nor let the reader ſtartle at the preſent uſe of chaiſes upon Mount Genévre, and the total diſuſe of them upon Great St. Bernard. The Alps, like the lower parts of our globe, are ſubject to many changes. That fine road, which was called the *Via Aurelia* [y], went "through the ſea-coaſt of "Marſeilles and Liguria," and had "the paſſes "that go into Italy more eaſy, the mountains" of the Maritime Alps "now lowering themſelves "there [z];" which ſhould therefore have been peculiarly preſerved, as the beſt way into Italy; is now no longer travelled [a]. Thus alſo Mount Genévre is now practicable for chaiſes; has "all "the carriages which go into Italy" from France, "paſs" over it; and even "is almoſt the only "mountain of all the Alps, where the carriages "are not diſmounted, in order to be tranſported "over the hill on the back of mules;" *becauſe* it became two centuries and a half ago, "the ge-"neral way for thoſe who travel out of France "into Italy [b]." And thus Mount Cenis, with leſs conveniency for paſſing the Alps, becauſe with much interruption from diſmounting the

[y] Itin. Anton. p. 18. "Via Aurelia, a Româ per Tuſciam "et Alpes Maritimas Arelatum uſque."

[z] Strabo 285. Δια της παραλιας της Μασσαλιωτικης και της Λιγυστικης,—τας δ'υπερθεσεις τας εις την Ιταλιαν, ευμαρεστερας εχει, τετυπωμενων ενταυθα ηδη των οδων.

[a] Smollet ii. 4.

[b] See chap. i. ſect. ii. before.

chaiſes,

chaiſes, taking them in pieces, and uniting the ſeperated limbs into one body again; is ſo much more frequented than Mount Genévre, that the actual paſſage of chaiſes over the latter is totally unknown at Geneva, in the Vallais, and even in a land of travellers like Britain [c].

But, amidſt all theſe variations of accident and under all this indolence of travelling, the march of modern armies over the Alps ſubſtantiates the truth of hiſtory concerning the antient. Their baggage, their proviſions have been conveyed like Hannibal's, over thoſe very Alps, acroſs which a cart or a chaiſe preſumes not to venture now. When Mount Cenis makes its firſt appearance in the world of hiſtory, and is firſt known to have been traverſed by a road, Charlemagne carried his army over it, and ſent a detachment over Great St. Bernard [d]. In Auguſt 1793 a detach-

[c] Sauſſure iv. 245. "St. Bernard eſt moins frequenté, depuis qu'on ne voyage plus qu'en voiture; parce qu'on prefere le Mont-Cenis, où l'on a plus de facilité pour les faire demonter et tranſporter." Sauſſure plainly knew nothing of carriages paſſing over Mount Genévre. "Carriages can paſs only by the firſt and the laſt of theſe routes," St. Gothard and the Tyrol: "in croſſing Mount Cenis, they muſt be taken in pieces; but the whole road through the Tyrol is not merely practicable, but even excellent, for a carriage" (Gentleman's Guide 1-2). This author evidently knew as little as M. Sauſſure, of chaiſes paſſing Mount Genévre.

[d] Mod. Un. Hiſt. xxiii. 128-129 and Sauſſure iv. 231.

ment

ment of the Piedmonteſe army marched over Great St. Bernard to Martigny, and, in order not to violate the neutrality of the Vallaiſans, marched without arms in their hands, but tranſported their arms in covered carriages attending them. Nay, thoſe very extraordinary impediments to modern armies, impediments ten-fold heavier probably than all the proviſions and baggage of Hannibal's, even CANNONS; have been occaſionally tranſported along almoſt all the formed roads of the Alps, and over thoſe Alps too which never had any formed roads at all [d].

[d] See vol. i. chap. i. ſect. 2. and chap. ii. ſect. i.—When Francis I. of France reſolved to invade Italy in 1515, "*tormentorum* ſubinde *majorum minorumque tantam copiam*, "quantam *duobus juſtis exercitibus* ſatis eſſe conſtaret, ad Gra- "tianopolim atque infimas Alpes præmiſit. Fuit *bigarum car-* "*rorumque incredibilis numerus*, quibus ferreæ pilæ, ſulphurei "pulveris vis ingens, præterea vectes, dolabræ, omnis generis "ferramenta, atque alia domandis itinerum aſperitatibus op- "portuna præſidia, convehebantur; totuſque is apparatus "*quinque-milium equorum* perpetuo labore trahebatur.—Fran- "ciſcus ad Alpes duxit, ſparſitque exercitum *ad primos aditus* "*trium ſemitarum quà tantùm perviæ ſunt Alpes*," Mount Ge- névre, Little St. Bernard, Great St. Bernard; "ne hoſtes cer- "tiore conjecturâ per diligentiſſimos etiam ſpeculatores aſſequi "poſſent, quænam Alpes, quæve potiſſimùm juga tranſitu "deſtinarentur. Enimvero Helvetii in Taurinis Salaſſiſque," at the paſs to Great St. Bernard, "adverſus [eum] Alpium "radices occupârant.—*Igitur*, quum mollioribus uſitatiſque "itineribus minimè tranſeundum exiſtimaret, ad fallendos "hoſtes, *novæ* Alpes, *nova aſperioraque montium culmina, quæ* "*nunquam ullis antea exercitibus patuiſſent, tentanda erant.*—

" Id iter ab Coctiis [Cottiis] initium capiebat; *mox relicto ad* " *lævam Genebræ monte*, vasto horribilique deflexu per ab- " ruptas valles montesque asperos ad Argentarias extende- " batur.—Trivultius primùm se munitorem itineris atque ag- " minis ducem professus: per hæc, inquit, aspera tibi, Rex, " fortiter enitendum, ut *quum ænea tormenta transvexeris*, " *Annibale major appareas*; transmisit ille *mitioribus jugis sine* " *tormentis*.—Sancti Pauli rupem,—quòd abrupta inaccessibilis- " que erat, incredibili celeritate ferro pandunt, *tormentaque* " *traducunt*. Sequenti die in Barcelloniam vallem descensum. " Ea ingentibus saxis et iniquissimis collibus interpositis impe- " dimenta, magnam rerum desperationem, afferebat. Nam " ligonibus dolabrisque proscindere saxeos colles, exæquare " crepidines, et, quum nullus per derupta equorum usus " foret, *subjectis militum humeris tormenta transvehere* necesse " erat. Interdum ea *magnis funibus ad scopulos et stipites arbo-* " *rum circumductis* suspendebantur, et *versatilibus machinis er-* " *gatarum*, et *troclearum artificio*, de rupe ad rupem, interce- " dentibus profundissimis vallibus, cum summâ admiratione " totius exercitûs, trahebantur. Nonnullis etiam in locis, nu- " darum rupium latera, ubi via deerat, *suppositis tibicinibus in-* " *terjectisque longuriis muniebant*, et, *insuper injectis stratisque* " *virgultorum fascibus, cespitibus, ac glebis*, pensiles vias trans- " euntibus curribus parabant. Ita mirâ fabrorum industriâ, " et singulari militum labore, in Argentariam vallem cuncta " exercitûs impedimenta traduxerunt" (P. Jovius i. 298, 299, 301, 302).

END OF VOL. I.